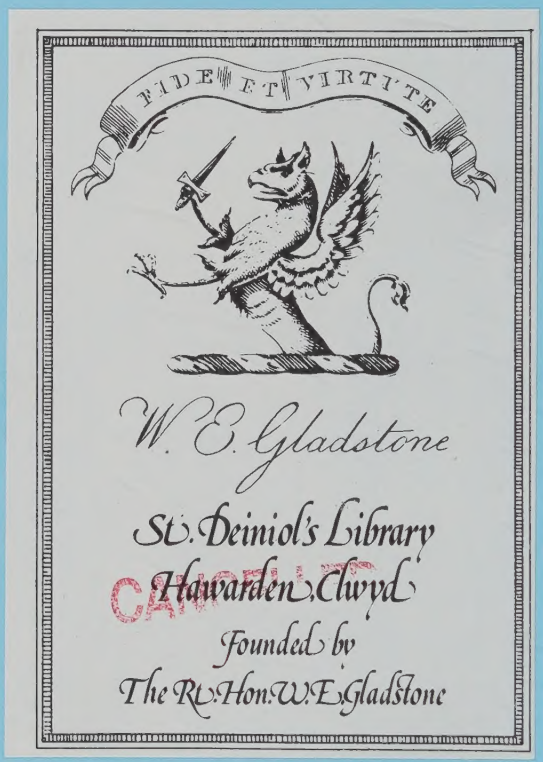

FIDE ET VIRTUTE
W. E. Gladstone
St. Deiniol's Library
Hawarden, Clwyd
Founded by
The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY,
HAWARDEN.
K65/11 Rod

# BABYLONIAN WISDOM

CONTAINING

THE POEM OF THE RIGHTEOUS SUFFERER,
THE DIALOGUE OF PESSIMISM,
THE BOOKS OF PROVERBS AND
THE SUPPOSED RULES OF MONTHLY DIET

BY

**S. LANGDON**, M. A.
PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD.

WITH 6 PLATES

LUZAC AND C°, 46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON
1923
PAUL GEUTHNER, 13 RUE JACOBS 13, PARIS

ST. DEINIOL'S LIBRARY,
HAWARDEN.

# BABYLONIAN WISDOM

by S. LANGDON

## INTRODUCTION

Babylonian parallels to the wisdom literature of the Hebrews and the Egyptians are here assembled, and edited together, for the first time. Fragments of these books of Babylonian Wisdom have long been known and their importance for the study of the Hebrew Book of Job, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes and Sirach has been hesitatingly admitted. By fortunate circumstances the greater part of the Babylonian legend of the Righteous Sufferer in four books is edited in this volume. The history of the recovery of some missing portions on tablets in the British Museum and in Berlin may be read in the pages which immediately follow. It now appears that the Babylonian book of the Righteous Sufferer throws more light upon the Hebrew Book of Job than has been supposed. The legend arose in Sumer and was developed by the Babylonian scribes many centuries before the corresponding Hebrew poem was written. In its present form the Babylonian poem of a righteous man, who suffered unjustly at the hands of providence, was obviously composed as a reply to the scepticism and pessimism which seem to have been prevalent at least from the ninth century B. C. to the end of the Babylonian Empire. The scathing condemnation of providence and orthodox religious beliefs which comes from the lips of Tâbi-utul-Enlil, the righteous, in this poem, represents the views of the agnostics and sceptics of ancient Babylonia. They may possibly be views which had already found expression in old Sumer itself. The author of this book replies to the arguments of the unbelievers by transforming his outraged and complaining hero into a pious believer and confounds the sceptics by an exposition of traditional and orthodox theology. It is one of the great Babylonian books of apologetic, and ranks with the old Sumerian poem of Paradise and the Fall of Man as a defence of providence and belief in the power and kindness of the gods. In the Babylonian

"Job" is found the Babylonian defence of the traditional theory of rewards and punishments. The various Sumerian and Accadian poems on the Fall of Man were written to explain the origin of pain and to reply to a fatal criticism of the sceptics, who scoffed at the gods of earth, sea and sky, for permitting sin and pain in the world. In them will be found the Sumerian and Babylonian apology for orthodox teaching concerning man's eternal pain and sorrow. My attempts to restore the text of the long poem on the Righteous Sufferer were really inspired by a desire to complete the profound system of Sumero-Babylonian theology in its ethical aspects. Of the correctness of the interpretation of the Sumerian legend of Paradise as an apology for divine providence in its relation to the origin of sin, I have no doubts. Criticism avails only when founded upon full knowledge, and criticisms such as have so far appeared of the views expressed in my *Poème Sumérien du Paradis et de la Chute de l'Homme* have confirmed me in my convictions.

In addition to the reconstruction of the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer I have given new translations of the books of proverbs, based upon my previous critical editions. A critical edition of the Dialogue of Pessimism recently published from the Assur Collection in Berlin completes the cycle of Babylonian wisdom literature as it is now known. The Dialogue is an outspoken and unrestrained exposition of scepticism. It affords an excellent example of the kind of literature which emanated from the pessimists of that period and whose doctrines the orthodox writer of the Righteous Sufferer controverts. New fragments of this kind of literature are certain to be forthcoming. None of these Babylonian books is complete; but complete Babylonian masterpieces are rare and in our time we must utilize the material as it exists. Perhaps progress in their completion is near at hand, but the contents of all the works published in this book are extensive enough to ensure an adequate grasp of their meaning.[1]

*Oxford,* Dec. 23, 1921. S. LANGDON.

1. My thanks are sincerely offered to my friends Professor A. H. SAYCE of Queen's College, and Mr. G. R. DRIVER, Fellow of Magdalen College, for their careful reading of the proofs.

# THE BABYLONIAN POEM OF THE RIGHTEOUS SUFFERER

The problem of human suffering occupies a prominent position in the philosophy and literature of every great civilisation. Babylonian and Hebrew literature presents the problem in the form of a legend of The Righteous Sufferer. The parallel between the Hebrew and the Babylonian legend and between the philosophical treatment of the subject by the authors of each work is not very close. That is necessarily the case in this aspect of religions, for moral judgments depend upon metaphysical views and in ancient times these views were largely racial and national.

This edition of the fragments of the Babylonian poem of a hero, who was moved to challenge the justice of god by his sufferings, is made with facilities not accorded to previous scholars. Hitherto not one of the tablets or books, into which the poem was divided, was complete. By joining K. 8396 to K. 2518, Tablet II is now entirely restored. And this is not all. Two fragments of the poem have been found in the temple library of Assur and these afford most opportune restorations of obscure passages. The present state of textual criticism may be gathered from the following table.

**Tablet I.** No representative of the text *in extenso* is known, or identified. But K. 3291, a long single column tablet, contained a commentary on at least four tablets and it is probable that Tablet IV was actually the last tablet. This text was previously published in V Rawl. 47. A new copy will be found on Plates I—III of this volume. About 15 lines are broken away from the top of the commentary. Extracts and explanations of the text of Tablet II begin with Obv. 23 of K. 3291; consequently all of the lines commented upon before *ṣa-bur-ti* etc. (l. 23) belong naturally to Tab. I. Of these

extracts only 8 lines have been sufficiently preserved to warrant a translation.

**Tablet II.** The text is now complete. The sources are:

1. From the Ashurbanipal Library; K. 2518 + DT. 358 + K. 8396. K. 2518 is published in IV R. 60* B. The join DT. 358 will be found on Pl. IV. K. 8396 now published for the first time belongs to the same tablet, a fact determined both by its contents and its material aspects. Several lines have crumbled away between K. 8396 and 2518, but they are restored from the duplicate K. 3972 = IV R. 60* C. This tablet carries Obv. 21—47 and Rev. 34—55. Sm. 1745, a small fragment (Pl. IV), carries Obv. 4—9. K. 3323 (Pl. III) contains Rev. 41—55 and the beginnings of a few lines of the Obverse (18—23). The Ninevite Collection possessed at least three copies of the poem.

2. Assur Library. KAR. No. 108 = Obv. 17—28.

3. Sippar Library. Sippar 37, incompletely published by Scheil in *Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar* p. 105, transcription only. Messerschmidt placed a new copy at the disposal of Jastrow for his edition in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXV (1906), 135—191. Only variants from this text are there given. It begins with Rev. 23 and ends with Rev. 53.

4. The Commentary begins on its Obv. 23 with line 3 of Tablet II and comments on various lines as far as its Rev. 3, which is an explanation of Tab. II Rev. 42.

**Tablet III.**

1. Assur Library. KAR. 175. An edition on tablets which contained only half the material of the large tablets of the Sippar and Ninevite editions. Obverse and Reverse (30 + 30 lines) = Obv. of the large edition of Tablet III. This text divides the material into strophes of ten lines each.

2. Sippar Library. Sippar No. 55 published by Thompson, PSBA. 1910, 18—24 carries Obv. 23—52. For the reverse of Tab. III the only witness is Sipp. 55 Rev., which began at about line 10 and ended at about line 45. The last 20 or 25 lines of this tablet are unknown but the Commentary may supply one or two.

3. The Commentary takes up Tab. III at Rev. 4. Its comments on Tab. III Obv. end with line 8. The last extract which can be identified from Tab. III Rev. is line 13 = Tab. III 33. From this point the extracts of the Commentary cannot be identified. It is certain that a few lines from the Commentary after Rev. 13 should be assigned to Tab. III.

**Tablet IV.** There is no witness to the text *in extenso*. Several lines, at any rate of the Obverse, can be restored from the Commentary. This, the last tablet of the series, is probably represented by the duplicates KAR. 10 and 11 from Assur. The duplicate of Tab. III on KAR. 175 proves that a tablet of the Assur edition contained only one side of a tablet of the larger editions. Consequently these two tablets carried perhaps only the Reverse of Tab. IV; the Commentary unfortunately breaks away at the end, and this would explain the fact that none of its extracts agree with any line of KAR. 10 + 11. Landsberger discovered the connection between KAR. 10 + 11 and the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer; see Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrfest,* second edition, p. 45 n. 2. This text has ten line strophes likewise, a fact which tends to vindicate Landsberger's theory.

The colophon of K. 3972 preserves a portion of the title of the poem, or its first line. It has been restored by common consent to [*lu*]*d-lul bêl ni-me-ki,* "I will praise the lord of wisdom".[1] We thus obtain the first half of the first line, which furnishes no indication of the content of the poem. In the course of the poem Marduk appears as the god who intervened and delivered the sufferer, and consequently "the lord of wisdom" might refer to him. It will appear from a closer analysis of the poem that it, like the Epic of Creation, has been revised by the late Babylonian school of theologians who were attached to the cult of Marduk. *Nîmēḳu* or wisdom which the poet proposes to expound most often refers to the mystic knowledge of the priests of incantation and to the magic power of releasing mankind from sin and evil, an attribute especially associated with Ea the water god

1. The series is mentioned in the catalogue of the titles of poems, Rm. 618 in Bezold's *Catalogue.*

of Eridu. Hence Ea was the god to whom the title *bêl nîmēḳi* ordinarily applies. A tablet of rubrics for the rituals of atonement contains a good commentary on the meaning usually conveyed by *nîmēḳu*.

"The functions of using the reed as many as the god Ea has created, the rituals of the holy curse, the acts of the atonement by omens of heaven and earth as many as there be, the totality of the sum of *wisdom*, the mystery of the incantation priest — to comprehend all these things."[1] Although the poem raises the profound problem of the moral order of providence, the *wisdom* which the poet reveals by the discussion is the orthodox theory of deliverance by confession and mystic rites. It is, of course, true that *nîmēḳu* is employed in the sense of "knowledge," but all knowledge was more or less tinged with a mystic aspect in Babylonia. "Wisdom" was essentially confined to the cult of the water god and the gods associated with that cult, especially Nebo god of writing and philosophy.

The first lines of Tablet I undoubtedly gave details concerning the historical circumstances of the hero of this poem, corresponding to the Prologue of the Hebrew "Book of Job." The first intelligible line of the Commentary (Obv. 9) by probable calculation is an extract from about the middle of Tablet I. Each tablet carried about 60 lines on the Obverse and 50 on the Reverse, consequently there is at present no information about the contents of the entire Obverse of Tablet I. These lines certainly described the historical figure who fell upon unmerited trials and persecution at the hands of his god. The present extracts of Tablet I, which probably begin somewhere near the top of the Reverse, or the middle of book I, bring us already *in medias res*. The sufferer is now describing his woes. He had been visited by friends who like Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, of the Hebrew drama, came to comfort him.[2] But there is no trace

1. Ebeling, KAR. 44, Rev. 5—7.

2. The subject of II Obv. 58 is unfortunately lost. Only the words "All of them in assembly came nigh unto me". This can hardly be referred to demons and diseases. The line certainly favors the supposition that friends did come to sympathize with him. But see p. 13 n. 1.

of discussion of the moral law by means of dialogue. The sufferer was certainly not a king but simply an influential resident of the ancient city of Nippur. The latter information is casually obtained from the description of a dream in Tab. III.

After the description of his miseries in Tab. II, the third book introduces a hero (apparently not a god) who appeared in two different dreams. The sufferer relates his visions in direct discourse. The first dream is described in Tab. III Obv. 9—20. In this defectively preserved section it appears that the dream hero claims to have been sent by Shamash the sun-god. In a second dream (21—37) he again has the vision of a hero who addressed him saying;

"Oh Tâbi-utul-Enlil,[1] resident of Nippur,
For thy cleansing he has sent me." Tab. III Obv. 25—6.

It is hardly possible to take Tâbi-utul-Enlil as the subject of the verb *išpuranni*, "he sent me." The verb occurs several times in the dreams, (III 18, 20, 41) and in each case a god is the subject. The text of this dream is fairly well preserved but the situation is obscure. The awe-inspiring figure who appeared to Tâbi-utul-Enlil claims to have received the incantation of life from a god. And then a female appears whom I take to be the goddess Ishtar. She intercedes with the god on behalf of the sufferer Tâbi-utul-Enlil and aids the dream hero to obtain pardon for the afflicted man.

Now enters, in the vision, *someone* who interpreted the dreams[2] (III 38). He says that the hero who had appeared twice to Tâbi-utul-Enlil was Ur-Bau, ancient viceroy of Lagash. He wore his crown and he came as priest of mysteries sent by Marduk to deliver the sufferer from his hideous afflictions. Further details of the dream are then added. Now we hear of a certain Shubshi-meshrê-Nergal, "Oh Nergal cause riches to exist," who is called the sufferer's mediator. To him Ur-Bau gave wealth presumably for Tâbi-utul-Enlil.

1. Landersdorfer assumes that Tâbi-utul-Enlil (not identified by him with the sufferer) was a king, *Eine Babylonische Quelle für das Buch Job?*, p. 55, but he was misled by a deficient text. He also assumes that the sufferer was a king but the new texts do not warrant this suggestion.

2. The poem does not report the interpretation as a quotation but represents the sufferer repeating the substance of what the diviner told him.

This reconstruction of the vision is not certain. In fact the phraseology of the poem is obscure. But if this be the true meaning of the vision we have in Shubshi-meshrê-Nergal a friend and comforter who was probably mentioned at the beginning of the poem. Ur-Bau brings the glad tidings of Marduk's forgiveness. Great riches came quickly, his sins were forgiven and his diseases passed away.

This portion of the poem proves that the accusation of the god's injustice and the theory of undeserved affliction asserted at great length in Books I and II were erroneous. Tâbi-utul-Enlil actually confessed that he was a sinner and sought deliverance by prayer and mystic ritual. He speaks of his wrong-doing, of the punishment which befel him for his sins. The reverse of Book III describes the release from pain in terms almost identical with those of an ordinary penitential psalm. This description of the atonement probably belongs to the vision but it is nevertheless intended to be real. The sufferer's foes were the ordinary powers of evil which appear everywhere in the ritual texts. The evil wind[1] was expelled to the horizon of heaven. The wicked ghosts and spirits, the fever-demoness and the various bodily afflictions rushed forth from his body at the curse of Marduk, and so numerous were the demons that they obscured high heaven.

There is no passage in any part of the poem which even intimates that Tâbi-utul-Enlil the resident of Nippur was a king, as scholars have generally supposed. Line 13 of the Commentary was erroneously published. It does not say "I was a king," but "I was powerful." In fact he lived in the period when the reigning kings were deified and received full cult worship. The sufferer claims as one of the proofs of his righteousness that "Adoration of the king was my joy" (II Obv. 27, cf. 31). It is true that he speaks of his people and of his land. He taught his people fear and reverence (II Obv. 18). He instructed his land in the elements of sacred theology (II Obv. 29).

1. The *imḫullu* is a kind of personification of the storm wind. In one passage it is actually regarded as one of the demons, ASKT. 82, 5. More often the seven devils are said to be "evil winds," CT. 16, 13, 65ff., or they rush about *with* the *imḫullu*, CT. 16, 42, 10; 19, 38. In this passage from the Babylonian Job, III R. 5, the evil wind is actually one of the demons.

If my restoration in II Rev. 18 be correct, his people wept for him and found not mercy. When Marduk, appeased by confession, prayer and ritual, finally restored the sufferer to health and peace, the poem says that this god caused the people to see a good omen (III Obv. 46).

The reverse of what I regard as the Fourth (and last) Book places the scene of his triumph and return to prosperity in Babylon. The inhabitants of that city celebrated his deliverance by feasting, proclaiming the power of Marduk who defeated the strength of all the demons combined. In this epilogue he claims to have returned to Babylon even as one who was a refugee from the grave. He commemorated his salvation by making sacrifices unto Marduk and Zarpanit in their temple in Babylon. The evidence indicates that this legend of a Righteous Sufferer arose not at Babylon but at Nippur; that he was an influential citizen, perhaps a patesi or high official, but certainly not a king. The entire poem was redacted by the Babylonian school. Marduk was introduced as the deliverer and the scene of the redemption changed from Nippur to Babylon. Whatever may be the actual historical facts, the tale itself is fictitious. The name of the protagonist "Good is the protection of Enlil" is obviously chosen to harmonize with his character, precisely as the name of the hero of the Flood, *Zi-ud-sud-du*, "Long is the breath of life," was chosen to suit the character of the one man who was saved from the deluge. The name of the companion "Nergal cause riches to exist" is likewise an invention. It is extremely probable that the original legend was written in Sumerian and that the real name of the sufferer should be pronounced as it stands in the text, Lal-ur-elimma. It is no longer possible to disentangle the old Sumerian form of the legend and its ethical treament of the problem of suffering. It is probable that the original Sumerian poem contained only the description of the righteous man who claimed to have been unjustly punished by his god Enlil, and that he received assurance of his deliverance by a dream. He lived in the period of Dungi or the kings of Isin when the problem of pain and injustice sorely tested the orthodox faith; when men's confidence in the goodness of the gods and their power to overcome the organized forces of evil

wavered and they transferred their hopes in a measure to the living kings whom they deified; when they explained human misery by the legend of the Fall of Man and the vision of a lost paradise which the deified kings, sons of the interceding mother goddess, would restore. The age was full of spiritual unrest and the Sumerian schoolmen were convinced that the injustice of providence was real and must be explained.

Before I enter into a discussion of the ethical theories raised by the poet and of their solution, it may be of interest to dilate upon the curious formal solution of the situation by means of a vision. Revelation by dreams belonged originally to the administrations of the earth-god Enlil,[1] for the spirits of dreams came from the lower world where they hid in the darkness of the realms of Enlil. They brought messages by night from the infernal deities. It is, therefore, extremely probable that the form of revelation, by which the situation in this poem was resolved, was chosen because the legend arose at Nippur. Here the sufferer harassed by pain and distracted by mental anguish has the vision of deliverance in which a well known historical person Ur-Bau appears. Our records have not preserved the names of any well known patesis or citizens of Nippur who lived in the time of Ur-Bau of Lagash. In the turmoil of the period of Ur-Bau, the last feeble kings of the empire of Agade failed to prevent the almost total degradation of old Sumerian and Semitic culture: under the ephemeral kingdom of Erech which succeeded, as well as during the dark period of the Gutium domination, only the powerful city of Lagash upheld the glory of Sumerian civilisation. Ur-Bau and the succeeding patesis of Lagash such as Urgar, Nammaḫni, Ur-Ninsun and especially the famous Gudea, were real champions of Sumer before the great renaissance founded by the last kingdom of Ur. These patesis obtained positions of peculiar affection in the traditions of all Sumerian cities. Nippur and Lagash, located not far from each other in southern Sumer, had existed side by side in constant intercourse from most primitive

1. See the *Museum Journal*, Philadelphia, 1917, Vol. VIII 117.

times. The choice of Ur-Bau as the figure in the vision of the philosopher of Nippur who lived five centuries later during the great renaissance is an interesting commentary on the history of Sumer and confirms the suggestion that the poem was written at Nippur. A close parallel to this apparition of an historical person in a dream will be found in the vision of Nabonidus last king of Babylon (556—539). Nebuchadnezzar famed for piety and wisdom appeared in the king's dream and interpreted what the king had seen in his vision.[1] According to the analysis of the dream of Tâbi-utul-Enlil given in the preceding pages, it was Ur-Bau who appeared as the messenger of Marduk.[2] He was not the interpreter.

The solution of the sceptic's difficulties by a dream proves how this Babylonian thinker like the writer of the Hebrew *Job* failed to emancipate himself from the literary forms of orthodox psalms and from the current conception of punishment. The ordinary penitential psalms never accuse god of injustice; that is a thought which is emphasized only in this writer's poem, but the idea is rejected, and the problem solved by traditional theories. How closely the poem follows the ordinary literary style is best illustrated by a Semitic prayer in which the god of dreams is again introduced.[3]

## A Semitic Penitential Psalm[4] to a Man's Personal God.

Obverse.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. . . . . *ka-bat-*[*ti*. . . . . ] | 1. . . . . my soul . . . . . |
| 2. . . . . im-] ḫaṣ-*ma* . . . . . | 2. . . . . has smitten . . . . . |
| 3. . . . . *danniš*[*šu-nu-uḫ-ma*] | 3. . . . . the mightily afflicted.[5] |

1. See my *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften,* p. 55 and p. 279.

2. In the Nippurian original Enlil.

3. The Babylonians certainly possessed Semitic penitential psalms, although the majority of these compositions was written in Sumerian with a Semitic interlinear version. See JRAS, 1921, 175. The prayer edited above is not easy to classify. It may possibly be an ordinary *šu-ila* or prayer of the lifting of the hand. Its style resembles rather the *eršaggunga*'s or penitential psalms.

4. K. 254, published in IV R. 59 No. 2. First edited by Zimmern, BBS. No. 9. See also for some lines, Jastrow, *Religion,* II 94.

5. Cf. *Babylonian Job,* III 37.

| | |
|---|---|
| 4. . . . . *a-na-ku* | 4. . . . . am I. |
| 5. *lim*-[nat ḳat-su na-ša-ša] *ul a-li-'-i*[1] | 5. *Wicked has been his hand,* not am I able to *bear it.* |
| 6. *sa*-[. . . . . ul u-] *la-ma-dan-ni* | 6. . . . . not has he taught me. |
| 7. *i*-[ ] *išu elippi* | 7. . . . . a ship. |
| 8. ru-[. . . . . ultu ûmê] *ru-ḳu-ti* | 8. . . . . since distant days. |
| 9. iš-[. . . . ] išḫup[2]*-an-ni* | 9. . . . . has overwhelmed me. |
| 10. *ù* . . . . . *-li u e-te-ti-iḳ* | 10. And . . . . I . . . and I exceeded. |
| 11. ru-[*u*-a ù ru-ut-tu] *lu-ni-sa-an-ni* | 11. Male *and female* companions are far from me. |
| 12. šu-[. . -]ru *napiš-tim* | 12. . . . . of the breath of life. |
| 13. *iḳ*-[ ]-*e im-ši-ni* | 13. . . . . has forgotten me. |
| 14. *kim-ti*[. . . . . ]-tuš *ú-šap-riš* | 14. My family . . . . . like . . . . he has caused to flee. |
| 15. *ul aṣ*-[ it-ti] il-*ta-ni da-ba-bi* | 15. Not am I . . . . . to converse with any one. |
| 16. *pak-ki*[3] *pi-i*-[*ia ša*] *ad-bu-bu ul i-di* | 16. The designs of my speech which I have expressed I know not. |
| 17. *ikkiba e-ṭe*-[*kal*][4] *iš-ki aššati ašlul* | 17. Have I acted slanderously, or robbed a wife of her portion? |
| 18. *i-mat bul-ti nu-uk-ki-rat la-mas-si* | 18. The poison of shame[5] has estranged my protecting spirit. |
| 19. *šêdu damḳu lamassu damḳu išeggu-u eli-ia ina enê-ia saḫ-rat dim-tum* | 19. The kind protecting genius, and the kind protecting spirit wail over me. In my eyes tears continue to return. |
| 20. *ina kiḫulli-e*[6] *marṣiš šumḳuta-ku a-na-ku* | 20. Upon the mourner's stool in pain am I cast down. |

1. Cf. *Babylonian Job*, III 1.
2. Read *ukattim-anni*?
3. For *pakku*, Syn. *ṭêmu*, see Yale Syl. 143.
4. Read *etepuš*? Cf. Ebeling, KAR. 45, 16.
5. The line refers to the machinations of wizards and witches.
6. See *Babyloniaca*, III 237.

| | |
|---|---|
| 21. *ib-ri u tap-pi-e it-ta-nam-da-ru-in-ni: nišê âli-ia it-ta-nam-da-ra-nin-ni* | 21. My friend and my companion rage against me:[1] the people of my city rage against me. |
| 22. *e-te-e ili e-ti-ik-ma šak-na purīdu*[2] | 22. I have transgressed the boundaries of god and pace (beyond them). |
| 23. *kima akali a-ta-kal ma-ru-uš--tum bi-ki-tum* | 23. For food I eat filth and *weeping* (sic!) |
| 24. *kima ku-ru-un-ni aš-ta-ti mê purīdi*[3] *u kim-ri* | 24. For wine I drink water of the limbs and penis. |
| 25. *kima karan balāṭi aš-ta-ti mê marrāti kima ṣubat lab-ša ṣubat ar-na al-me* | 25. For the wine of life I drink bitter waters. For a garment which clothes I wrap myself with the garment of retribution. |
| 26. [ ]-*bi aṣ-ṣa-lim* ša[ ] | 26. . . . . I am overshadowed . . . . |
| 27. [ ]šub-*tum ú-te-iṭ-ṭu-u zi* . . . . . | 27. . . . . they have darkened . . . . |
| 28. [. . . . . ]*ṭiṭṭi pi-*[*kan-ni*] | 28. . . . . clay of the cattle stall. |
| 29. . . . . *ME* ša-na *lim-ši-ma* ḪI . . . . . | 29. . . . . |
| 30. . . . . *mê ru-*[*ub-ṣi* . . . . .] | 30. . . . . |
| . . . . . | . . . . . |

Reverse.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. . . . . *ir-nit-*[*ta-ka* . . . . .] | 1. . . . . thy glory . . . . . |
| 2. . . . . *te-'-i aš-rat* . . . . . | 2. |

1. The reference to fair weather friends occurs also in the Babylonian Job poem, Comm. I 14. His friends turn against him, because they hold the orthodox view that misfortune proves a man's guilt. The same attitude is taken by the friends of Job in the Hebrew poem.

2. *purīdu*, limbs. For *šakānu*, cf. *šêpê-ki šukni*, "Set thy feet in motion," *Maḳlu* V 25. *šikin šêpê-šina*, their footsteps, Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 375.

3. On *mê purīdi*, see Küchler, *Medizin*, 126; Holma, *Körperteile*, 130. *kimru*, from Arabic *kamara*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 3. *[lip-pa-ṭir a-]ra-an ili lim-[ma-ši ḳil-la-ti]* | 3. May the retribution of god be absolved, may my frivolity be forgotten. |
| 4. *a-na rig-mi-ia tak-ru-*ub(?)*-ma* : . . . . . | 4. If unto my cry thou hast shewn *grace* [*I shall be at peace*]. |
| 5. *ì-lí-iă sab-su suḫ-ḫi-ra-an-ni [kišad-ka]*[1] | 5. Oh my angry god, turn thy neck unto me. |
| 6. *ilatIstarti-iă ša te-zi-zi liḳi-e [ik-ri-bi]*[2] | 6. Oh my goddess, thou who art enraged receive my *entreaty*. |
| 7. *liḳi-e un-ni-ni-ia li-nu-uḫ kab-ta-[at-ki]* | 7. Receive my prayer and may thy soul repose. |
| 8. *be-lí ta-iā-ru ri-mi-nu-u [ši-me-an-ni]* | 8. Oh my lord, compassionate and merciful, *hear me*. |
| 9. *û-ma i-te-šur*[3] *ana mu-ú-tum pa-aš-ḫi*[4] | 9. If ever I pass swiftly unto death, Oh be appeased. |
| 9b. *ì-lí-iă pušra (ra) teš-[ki-i]*[5] | 9b. Oh my god, unbind my wailing. |
| 10. *ilatIštarti-iă nap-li-si-in-ni-ma liḳi-e un-ni-ni-ia* | 10. Oh my goddess, behold me and receive my prayer. |
| 11. *lip-paṭ-ru ar-nu-ú-a lim-ma-ša-a ḫi*[6]*-ṭa-tu-ú-a* | 11. May my wrong-doings be absolved, my sins be forgotten. |
| 12. *ì-il-ti lip-pa-ṭir ka-si-ti li-ir-mu* | 12. May my curse be unbound, my bands be loosened. |
| 13. *ṭa-ni-ḫi-ia lit-ba-lu si-bit šârê* | 13. May the seven winds remove my weariness. |
| 14. *lu-uš-ḫu-uṭ lum-ni iṣṣuru ana šami-e li-še-li* | 14. May a bird pluck out my trouble and take it up unto the skies. |

1. Here begins Zimmern's *edition*. For restoration, cf. Ebeling, KAR. 25, 9.

2. The natural restoration would be *unnini* but this word occurs in the next line. See King, *Magic*, 33, 5.

3. Sic! not subjunctive. *ûma* has the force of *šumma*, *itešur*, Pret. I[2] of *wašāru* go straightway.

4. Imp. fem. of *pašāḫu*.

5. See RA. 18, 41 n. 6.

6. So the text, clearly.

15. *i-dir-ti nūnu lit-bal li-bil nâru*
15. May a fish carry away my distress and the river transport it.

16. *lim-ḫur-an-ni nam-maš-šu-u ša ṣêri*
16. May the creatures of the plain receive it from me.

16ᵇ. *li-mis-su-in-ni mê nâri muttallikûti*
16ᵇ. May the running waters of the river wash me.

17. *nu-mir-an-ni kima ḳî elli*
17. Cleanse me like a clean herb.

18. *ki-i lu-lim-ti el-me-ši panuk-ka lu-ḳir*[1]
18. Like the glow of fire-stone may I be precious before thee.

19. *dup-pir lum-ni ú-ṣur napiš-ti*
19. Wipe away my trouble, protect my soul.

19ᵇ. *lu-uṣ-ṣur ki-sal-la-ka-ma du-ut*[2]*-ka luṣbat(bat)*
19ᵇ. I will guard thy court, I will lay hold upon thy image.

20. *it-ti lum-ni šu-ti-ḳa-an-ni-ma lu-un-ni-ṭir it-ti-ka*
20. From trouble cause me to pass over, and may I be spared beside thee.

21. *šup-ra-an-ni-ma šutta damiḳ--tam luṭ-ṭul*
21. Send me a propitious dream and may I see it.[3]

22. *šuttu a-na-ṭa-lu lu-u damḳa-at*
22. May the dream which I see be good.

22ᵇ. *šuttu a-na-ṭa-lu lu-u kîna-at*
22ᵇ. May the dream which I see be true.

23. *šutta a-na-ṭa-lu ana damiḳ-ti tir-ra*
23. The dream which I have seen turn into favor.

24. *ilu Ma-mú ilu ša šunāti ina rêši--ia lu kaia-an*[4]
24. May Mamu god of dreams be steadfastly at my head.

25. *šu-ri-ba-an-ni-ma a-na É-sag-ila é-gal ilāni bit balāṭi*
25. Cause me to enter into Esagila the palace of the gods, the house of life.

1. Cf. King, *Magic*, 12, 70.
2. *dûtu* = Hebrew *demût*, ZDMG, 66, 769.
3. For other references to absolution by the dream god, see PSBA. 1918, 108.
4. See PSBA. 1918, 108 n. 20.

| | |
|---|---|
| 26. *a-na* $^{ilu}$ *Marduk ri-me-ni-i a-na damiḳ-tim a-na ḳātê damḳāti piḳ-dan-ni* | 26. Unto Marduk the merciful into kind hands unto goodness entrust me.[1] |
| 27. *lud-lul nar-bi-ka lut-ta-'-id ilu-ut-ka* | 27. I will praise thy greatness, thy divinity I will extol. |
| 28. *nišê âli-ia li-še-pa-a ḳur-di-ka* | 28. May the people of my city glorify thy heroism. |
| 29. [ ma-]ḫar ilāni *nišê lid-*[bu-ba] | 29. Of *thy* . . . . before the gods may the peoples converse. |
| . . . . . | . . . . . |

The penitential psalm translated above resembles the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer in phraseology more than any portion of Babylonian religious literature now published. Both appeal to "god" and to the "goddess," not to a specific god and goddess. This expression "my god" and "my goddess" (Rev. 5—6) certainly refers to the sufferer's personal protecting deities, who were usually named in prayers, and the supplicant was described as the "son of his god." For example Shamash-shum-ukîn in one of his prayers says that his god was Marduk and his goddess was Zarpanit[2]. Ashurbanipal in a prayer to the constellation Orion[3] says that his god was Ashur and his goddess was Aššurîtu. When the poet of the Babylonian Job says that he cried unto god and prayed unto goddess he means a personal god and goddess. It is unlikely that he has in mind an abstract idea of divinity here. The abstract point of view in the more philosophical poem consists rather in the fact that the poet is speaking of any possible believer and of any human experience. In any case both compositions are removed from the orthodox cycle of penitential psalms by the fact that in them man prays to and speaks of his own personal god. The orthodox prayers present a different point of view. In them the supplicant never addresses his prayer to his

1. The line is addressed to the supplicant's personal god; *ilu* in the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer refers naturally to the personal god.

2. RA. 16, 68. See also PBS. I 108.

3. King, *Magic*, No. 53, 13.

own god but always to some other god whom he entreats for atonement, his personal god and goddess would then forgive him and return to him. But in these two compositions Babylonian religion advances by one important step in the direction of monotheism. They transfered their appeal to a deity who presided over the life of man. They prepare the way to a real personal religion.

Both compositions introduce the revelation of atonement by a dream and both fall away into the old polytheism by finally introducing another god, Marduk, as the deliverer. The psalm to the personal god differs again from the orthodox psalms at this point. The prayers of the Semitic rituals of atonement frequently appeal to deities to restore the believer into the hands of his personal god[1]. But here the believer appeals to his own god to entrust him into the hands of Marduk.[2]

The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer is also addressed to a man's personal god and for the moment this poet, like the composer of the psalm under discussion, writes from the point of view of personal deism. The only supernatural power recognized in the philosophical portion of the poem is man's personal god. It is not likely that he assumes the same personal god for all men, thus writing with a belief in pure monotheism. He probably had not emancipated him-

1. For example, a prayer to Marduk has the line, "Into the kind hands of my god in peace entrust me," KING, *Magic*, 11, 26. In the *Shurpu* ritual, a series of incantations addressed to various deities, Marduk is invoked in one section to break the bands of the curse and to entrust the believer into the kind hands of his god; *Shurpu*, VI 170. At the end of an incantation against headache, in which Marduk is sent by his father Ea to expel the demon by a ritual with ground grain, occurs the line, "Into the kind hands of his god may he be entrusted," CT. 17, 22, 145. A prayer of the private ritual probably addressed to Marduk contains the line, "Cleanse him and entrust him to his god his creator," IV R. 14, 44. A similar prayer addressed to Shamash has the lines, "Heal me and into the kind hands of my god and goddess unto peace and life entrust me," GRAY, *Shamash Texts*, IV 2. The appeals in prayers, to be entrusted into the hands of a specific deity other than the believer's own god, are rare. Marduk is asked to be commanded by his father Ea to entrust a worshipper to "Shamash chief of the gods," *Shurpu*, VII 94 and a prayer to Nusku son of Enlil has the line, "Unto Enlil the gracious entrust me in peace," KAR. 58, Rev. 22.

2. Rev. 26.

self from the ancient doctrine, that every man was officially consecrated to some particular deity.[1] If we may confide in the consistent evidence of official prayers, the Sumerians and Babylonians, when afflicted by sin and trouble, always appealed to some deity other than their own gods. A Sumerian presented himself before another deity telling him that he is "the son of his god," and he named this god and the god's consort. The major rôle of a man's god and goddess is that of intercession on behalf of their protegé. This doctrine is very ancient and its influence in art and religious texts begins in the 25th century.[2] The praying figure of a female deity on seals who stands behind the worshipper as he presents himself to a seated deity, is the man's own goddess, who became an abstract *mater dolorosa*. When the personal deities are appealed to directly for help, or are regarded as the only spiritual powers concerned in a man's experiences, we are confronted with a real theological reformation. Babylonian religion in these brief flights rises into the region of personal deism and deep spiritual experience. It made possible direct appeal in prayer without magical ceremony.[3]

The poem belongs to the cycle of great theological and philosophical literature which emanated from the temple school of Nippur in the Isin period. It was originally written in Sumerian. The most famost poems of this school were the following.

**A. The Epic of Paradise and the Fall of Man.**[4] The poem is a piece of theological apologetic to explain this evil world. The gods had not created the world as it is, but mankind originally lived in Paradise in intimate relation with the gods. In the exercise of his free will, by which function man partook of the nature of

1. On the doctrine of personal deities or the meaning of "Son of his god," see RA. 16, 49—68, *The Religious Interpretation of Babylonian Seals*.

2. RA. 16, 57.

3. In the extraordinary Sumerian penitential psalm addressed "to any god", IV R. 10, there is a curious wavering between the old orthodox position and the new personal deism. The believer does regard his own god and goddess as supreme here, but there are references to some angered god and goddess who are unknown to him and whom he must also appease.

4. Published in my *Poème Sumérien du Paradis, du Déluge et de la Chute de l'Homme*.

the gods, he neglected his duty[1] toward the gods and was destroyed by the Deluge. One lone survivor by name Tagtug, a weaver, escaped in a boat and became a gardener. He eventually lost longevity and perfect health by disobedience in eating from a tree in the midst of the garden. The gods, however, had compassion upon him and sent divine patrons to aid him in his struggle against nature and physical pain. But this is an evil world, despite the efficacy of prayer, liturgy and the mystic rituals. The poem is apologetic, it defends the justice and the absolute goodness of god. It originated out of the same problem as that propounded in the Babylonian Job. The Epic of Paradise explains it by the primeval sin of man inherited by all generations. This theory of inherent sin is not the central theory of the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer, but it became a fundamental proposition in Babylonian theology. It explained suffering when there was no visible explanation for personal or national calamity. It vindicated the justice of god and inspired the whole system of king worship, the longing for a deliverer who would restore the lost Paradise.

The theory of natural or inherent sin is assumed by the theologians of the Nippurian school and is presupposed in all the penitential hymns and prayers of the private atonement of Babylonia and Assyria. The idea is nowhere clearly expressed but it follows as a corollary to the oft repeated admission that man is too ignorant to understand the ways of god and must have committed sin even when he cannot discover what wrong he may have done. This is perhaps the principal ethical law of the Sumerian and Babylonian religion and I shall revert to it in due place. The doctrine of natural sin was an abstract theory and consequently applied to general conditions rather than to personal troubles. Pain and sorrow befel individuals because they themselves had sinned; or their fathers had sinned, and the latter point of view is really a concrete statement of the more abstract doctrine. The world is full of evil and trouble, calamity overtook nation and city, and this was explained partly by original sin of man, partly by general apostacy.

1. Violent attacks upon my interpretation at this point have been made by those who deny that in Col. II 26 the word *uš* means, counsel, design. But this interpretation is now vindicated by a parallel passage. See JSOR. Vol. V, p. 66 n. 27.

Original or natural sin rendered man's ability totally inadequate to avoid the wrath of god at all times; and from the sins of parents their children had no refuge save in the mercy of the gods. "Man is born of woman" was a phrase which clearly embodied the doctrine of the Fall of Man.

"If I call unto him lo! he is one born of woman.[1]
If I polish him lo! he is but unburnt brick."

His ancestors by disobedience had also made mankind subject to disease and mortality.

"The life of the day before yesterday to-day is departed.
Like a chair which in the month Tebit thou fashionest well and at the end of the year thou castest away.
Like a chair is man whose god is Šaḫan.[2] For him thou weepest.
Thou causest his body to be burned and fire to consume it."[3]

"Man that is born of woman" recurs in the Hebrew Book of Job and is clearly a reflection of the Babylonian doctrine.

There is in Babylonian theology an ever present theory of original and inherited sin which does not reveal itself in many concrete instances.

"Who has not been negligent, who has not belittled himself?
Who comprehends the way of god?"[4]
"The wrong doing of my father, of my father's father, of my mother, of my mother's mother,
Of my family by male and female line,
May it not approach me, may it go away."[5]
"Be it curse of my father, be it curse of my mother,[6]

1. So the Semitic version of the Bilingual Book of Proverbs, AJSL. 28, 227. But the Sumerian text has simply "Lo! he is something which has been born."
2. The fire-god.
3. Bilingual Proverbs, §§ 50—52. The idea of man's fleeting existence is referred to in the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer, II 39 f., but the theory of original sin is not emphasized there.
4. King, *Magic*, 10.
5. *Ibid.*, 22, 24.
6. *I. e.*, curse brought upon man by the father's wickedness. The following passage is taken from Gray, *Shamash Texts*, Plate IV 25—34.

Be it curse of seven generations of my father's house.
Be it curse of my progeny or my household.
Be it curse of my vassals and attendants.
Be it curse of one dead or living,
Be it curse of infant or suckling child,
Be it curse by what I said or said not,
Be it that I swore against father and mother,
Be it that I swore against man and wife,
Be it that I swore against friend and companion, against river and fountain,
Be it that I swore upon weapon and *silakku,*
Be it that I swore in the name of god with perjury."

The theory of inherited sin is thus abundantly illustrated by religious texts, and the wider theory of original sin may be safely inferred from the tone of the prayers.

**B. The Epic of Creation and the Flood.**[1] Originally a poem of 300 lines in six columns, describing the creation of man by the three great gods assisted by the mother goddess. The legend of the Flood occupied the greater portion, but the recovered fragment has no theological value; the reasons for sending the Deluge are not preserved.

**C. Poem on the Origins of Civilisation.**[2] The gods organized a civilized state for mankind, blessed the earth with fertility and established a reign of happiness in Sumer. Tagtug, who in the Epic of Paradise appears as the last ruler of the Utopian age and founder of civilisation after the Deluge, is apparently described here as the founder of culture in the golden age itself. The only point of theological interest, apart from the new evidence afforded for the existence of a primeval state of bliss, is the inference from the last lines that mankind had been primarily created to serve the gods. That is an idea fundamental in the views of both the Nippurian and the Eridu schools of theology.[3]

1. Published by Poebel, PBS. V No. 2.
2. Published by Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 8 and by the writer, *Poème du Paradis*, 135.
3. *Poème du Paradis*, 47, 27 ff.

The Righteous Sufferer complains that he also had acted upon this belief. He had given offerings unto his god and goddess. He had said the required prayers in the chapels and instructed his people according to traditional faith. "Verily I knew that such things are agreeable unto god."

**D. A large number of liturgies for the cults of deified kings.**[1] These hymns were the outcome of a profound religious movement which characterized the period of Tâbi-utul-Enlil. The long and glorious career of Dungi of Ur fostered the belief in a human saviour. Undoubtedly faith in the traditional doctrines of the gods was shaken; as in Greece and Rome, so Sumer transferred its hopes to deified rulers, who were said to have been the sons of the great interceding mother-goddess. In one remarkable liturgy to Ishme-Dagan, fourth king of Isin, the deified ruler even usurps the position of the interceding mother-goddess and becomes the advocate of suffering mankind before the gods.[2]

This belief made a great impression upon our poet. Adoration of the king was his joy and he assisted in the liturgical services of the royal cults. He observed their formal rituals as those of the gods. The boldness of his scepticism is especially revealed by his complaint, that he found no justice in society. The official liturgies of the kings emphasize their activity in promoting justice.

**E.** The standard liturgies of the various cults were completed in this period, chiefly under the influence of the Nippurian school.[3] The principal theological aspect of these long formal prayer services is the emphasis placed upon human sorrow and the dire punishment exacted by the gods for national or civic sins. They repeat the phrase "How long?" and describe the ravages of war and flood. They reflect

1. Published for the most part in my *Sumerian Liturgical Texts* and *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*. Liturgies of these cults to kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, and of the Dynasty of Isin existed of course in the temple libraries of all cities of the period. Several of those employed at Sippar have been published by Zimmern.

2. *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms*, 245.

3. The remains of the temple library at Nippur are remarkably poor in texts of the composite type which became the standard temple song-services. The best examples of the period come from Sippar.

in fact the dark period of the Gutium occupation and the sad experience of at least two milleniums of history. The sorrowful aspect of life had now become a conviction but it only served to deepen their faith in the justice and awful power of the goddess. The Sumerian gods, prevailed upon by the merciful mother-goddess, are always induced to repent. They smote the wicked foreign lands and restored the cities. The wrath of the gods was shewn by their terrible Word, which was sent forth from their lips and visited the earth with fire and sword. But divine anger only proved the existence of sin.

"Thy Word on men as many as are disobedient has fallen."[1] There is no escape from the infinite power of the gods. They are absolutely just and ready to forgive when the rituals are performed and the public prayers sung. These involved always the recitation of a long titular litany, or intercession in which the titles of all the deities are repeated. The latter phase of orthodox worship is reflected in the poem, "I gave instruction unto my people to guard the titles of god."[2]

Such were the religious influences and theological doctrines under which the poem of the Righteous Sufferer was written. The accepted ethical position was one of absolute resignation and faith in the justice of god. Original and inherited sin was involved in their explanation of divine punishment. If the gods sent woe upon mankind, this only proved the short-comings of the present generation or of their ancestors.

These theories are not challenged in the Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer. Tâbi-utul-Enlil attained unto the normal term of human life[3] and found nothing but trouble and wickedness in the world. He describes at length his own piety and deep faith. But he was treated by the gods as a wicked man. Prayer availed not; painstaking observance of divine worship and strict adherence to

1. PBS. X 308, 22.

2. Tab. II 29.

3. This is the only reference to a normal age of man fixed by the gods. It corresponds to the passage in the Hebrew version of the Fall of Man, where his life is normally limited to seventy years. Babylonian tradition certainly possessed a similar legend.

the cults of the kings brought no relief. So far as he was able to prove himself, no sin was found in him. But the explanation lay in his own ignorance.

"What seems good to oneself is worthlessness before god.
What to his mind is despicable, seems good before god.
Who comprehends the will of the gods in the midst of heaven?"

Then the old theory of man's changing unstable will, his fleeting existence, and worldly pride recurs to him. This was a theory first expounded by the Nippurian school, and it was the obvious inference drawn from the Epic of Paradise and the Fall of Man.

"Quickly is he cast into gloom, suddenly is he crushed down.
When they are hungry they are like a corpse.
In prosperity they speak of ascending unto heaven."

The only new element in this discussion is the argument that a man's own life may be scrupulously perfect according to human standards. The serious aspect of his thought lies in the criticism of traditional doctrines. Apparently the accepted rituals and theology did not wholly reveal the divine will. Even the mystic knowledge of philosophers and priests of magic had not solved the problem of pain. God's ways are past finding out and the most righteous of men must live in a society whose corruption is due to natural vice. But there is no fundamental scepticism here. Traditional theology is the only known source for a rule of action, and orthodox prayer and ritual the only way unto salvation. Apart from the attempt to justify himself personally, without regard to the great human organism of society to which he belongs, the sufferer's attitude toward the problem of pain does not differ from the ordinary penitential psalms. These always admit the believer's sin, whether it be known or unknown. Tâbi-utul-Enlil unlike the Hebrew Job admits his sin, but he knows that god is just and that he is unable to escape from the inherent sin of humanity. In a bilingual psalm, a penitent, after confessing his guilt, expresses the same dogma of man's inability to comprehend the ways of god.

"Mankind is dumb and knows nothing.
Mankind as many as bear names, what know they?

Does he anything mean? does he any thing good? he knows not at all.

Oh lord thou wilt not cast away thy servant."[1]

A prayer of the atonement has the lines,

"Mankind as many as bear names,

Who among them of himself attains knowledge?"[2]

There is no doubt but that the theory of original sin, of man's ignorance and inability to defend the justice of god, can be illustrated from the orthodox prayers. A prayer of the ritual of atonement addressed to Ninlil has these lines:

"Because of the evil I have done and have not done,

Because of the sin which since my youth I have carried,

And which the apostle of god has known or not known, I suffer greatly."[3]

Ashurnaṣirpal in fact approaches even more closely the position of the writer of the Babylonian Job in one of his prayers to Ishtar.

"How have I despised thee? In [what have I sinned against thee?]

*My transgressions* thou hast counted and sickness I behold *daily*.

. . . . . .

Steadfastly [I maintained thy worship].

Before thy divinity [I walked uprightly].

But as one who fears not thy divinity [altogether thou hast afflicted me].

Although I have no sin and *committed* no disgrace.

Yet ever am I cast down *in sorrow*.

I am distressed and sleep not.

From my royal throne I departed . . . .

The meal which I should eat I come not nigh unto.

The wine offering in worship *is turned* to stench.

As for choral music and revelry I am removed.

For the pleasure and joy of life I thirst.

My eyes are sealed that I behold not.

1. IV Raw. 10 Rev. 29—35.
2. King, *Magic*, 11, 8f.
3. K. 3515 in press.

I lift them not from the face of the earth.

How long Oh my lady shall sickness cease not and my knees waver?"[1]

But in the appeal for mercy at the end of this prayer he confesses that he must have sinned;

"Look upon me, Oh my lady, thy divinity I implore.

Since thou art enraged have mercy upon me, may thy soul be appeased.

May grace strengthen thy heart toward me,

Cause my sickness to depart, remove my sin."

Thus even the argument, that a wholly righteous man must sometimes suffer, occurs in the orthodox literature. Tâbi-utul-Enlil seems at last to have confessed himself a sinner.

"I a negligent man have set forth with my hand the waters of Esagila."[2]

And so absolutely nothing unique remains in the Babylonian Job, except the interesting character of the legend, and the apparent challenge of the absolute efficacy of dogma and ritual.

The Bilingual Book of Proverbs also challenges the justice of god:

"He is altogether righteous, yet he is clothed in rags."[3]

But the same Book defends the ordinary view of the direct relation of righteousness to prosperity:

"Evil thou shalt not do and so an everlasting treasure thou shalt obtain."[4]

Piety is rewarded by good fortune and sin by suffering. That is the law of life advocated by the sages and another bilingual Book of Proverbs asserts:

"When thou seest the profit of the fear of god, thou shalt praise god and do homage to the king."[5]

The Book of Proverbs ridicules the profession of the seers.

1. *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 68.
2. Commentary, Rev. 37. Probably from the Obverse of Tablet IV.
3. AJSL. 28, 224.
4. AJSL. 28, 220.
5. K. 2024 Rev. 24—26. Published by Meek, RA. 17, 122—3. Note the intimate relation between the worship of the king and of the gods. The Semitic version of this proverb is, *û-ma ni-me-el pa-la-aḫ ili ta-ta-mar ila ta-na-'-ad ana šarri ta-kar-rab.*

"The giving of a king is the making gracious of a prophet."[1] And it speaks of superstitious belief in the efficacy of sacred relics with scorn.

"A ring does not give protection."[2]

It is very obvious that the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer is only a concise and clear presentation of a subject which was very extensively discussed and consistently explained in the same way. The Babylonians very properly found no difficulty in holding to the old faith that righteousness ordinarily results in immediate prosperity in the experience of the same individual. *Fortuna virtuti comes.* That is an ethical law which is the foundation of civilisation. At the same time it was admitted that righteousness is not always followed by divine favor, that the wicked prosper. This involved the deeper principle of inherited and original sin. The concrete reason for divine wrath often lay beyond human understanding. Good will eventually have its reward; possibly not within the life term of the individual, but at any rate his descendants will secure that rich blessing.

"Posterity is of eternity," says the Book of Proverbs[3] and in this direction pointed the eschatology of their ethics. They had little hope of rectification of the miseries and injustice of life in the after-world. Arallû was generally described as a land of gloom within the earth-mountain where the souls of all men repose in a comatose state. Even this peaceful repose in the land of dust and shadows was denied to those spirits whose bodies had not been properly buried. Rest in that land of sorrow depended much upon the dead man's posterity. His descendants could do much for his peace by keeping the feast for his soul or the parentalia, and above all by libating water at his tomb. The most terrible misfortune befel him who went to the Land of No Return without leaving a "giver of libation of water" among the living.[4]

An interesting Cassite contract contains the following terms of

1. AJSL. 28, 231.
2. *Ibid.*, 232.
3. AJSL. 28, 231.
4. *Babylonian Eschatology*, Bab. VI 208.

adoption. A woman adopted a girl as her daughter stipulating that that she must be obedient and after the woman's death the girl must "libate water."[1] Whatever hope of immortality and final reward of righteousness Babylonian religion had to offer consisted largely in posterity and in the memory of ones name among men. The souls of the dead communed with the living and the teleology of all human effort was centred upon the evolution of society upon this earth. In all periods, especially in the great period of king worship of the 25th to the 22nd centuries, the dream of a restored Paradise inspired their actions and fortified their faith. This belief conduced to at least one imperishable benediction. It maintained social and family solidarity, and produced a civilisation which endured for nearly four milleniums.

In such a world-view the injustice done to the righteous man, who did not live to enter into his reward, was evident. How could the gods be just and yet allow the good man to suffer the torments described in the Book of the Babylonian Righteous Sufferer? The theory of vicarious sacrifice appears first in the writings of the Hebrew prophet who wrote Second Isaiah; there is no trace of it in Sumer and Babylonia; even in the cult of the dying god Tammuz the idea is not clearly expressed. It is implied by their attitude toward the problem of pain, but they had not the comfort of such profound teaching. The antinomy, which existed here, is explained not only in this poem but in many prayers, by refuge in mysticism, resignation, and the admission of original sin. The ways of god are inscrutable and the Babylonian has a theory which accounts for every thing.

But the problem of individual reward and punishment disturbed their minds and led some to conceive of a judgment of souls in the afterlife. This doctrine is not prominent in religious texts and certainly had little influence in popular belief. Nergal lord of the dead is described as he "whose judgment and decision [*are just*]."[2] He is the sovereign of justice,[3] and his planet Mars is called the "star of

1. Pognon, RA. 9, 130.
2. IV Raw. 24, 27.
3. SBP. 84, 4.

the judgment of the fate of the dead,"[1] and the "star of equity and justice."[2] Enmešarra also an underworld deity is described as "Decider of the decisions of the nether world, great band[3] of the Habitation."[4]

But the hope of divine interference for the soul in the "land of weeping" became an accepted belief in the Persian period. The justice of god could be vindicated in no other way. "Belief in immortality is necessary to a belief in god."[5] When the Babylonian thinkers propounded the problem of pain, and explained it as the punishment for the sin of the actual sinner or of past generations, the solution was not satisfactory. The injustice done to the individual at the hands of cruel providence certainly condemned their views about the goodness and infinite power of the gods. They finally modified their conception of the life beyond the grave. A small collection of tablets found in tombs of the Persian period at Susa prove that the Babylonians completed their system of philosophy in the only possible way by adopting the belief in future reward and punishment. In the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XIII 168—173, Scheil published six remarkable tablets which contain prayers to the gods for assistance in the land of terrible gloom. These tablets assure for Babylonian religion a leading position in the history of ethics.

"Behold[6] I depart, Oh, my god, my lord! Into the presence of the Enunaki[7] behold! I pass beyond the *tomb*.[8] May I take thy hand before the great gods and hear the judgment; may I embrace thy feet. Thou hast waited and thou hast caused me to escape the house of darkness, Oh, my god, yea even the morass of distress and misery.

1. RA. 14, 21, 17.
2. *Ibid.*, l. 18.
3. *markasu*, unifying principle, leader, chieftain. For the various philosophical and concrete uses of this word, see JRAS. 1920, 443.
4. *an-duru-na*, the abode, *i. e.*, Arallu. Jensen, KB. VI² p. 53, 3 misunderstood the passage.
5. Rashdall, *Philosophy and Religion.*
6. *al-ka*, see Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, 191, 11 and p. 254.
7. Lower-world spirits.
8. So Scheil.

In the land of calamity thou hast sought me out. Thou hast made me the precious gift of water and planted food in the field of thirst."

The idea of a judgment for the soul is clearly expressed here. The man's own god intercedes for him before the gods of the lower-world even as he did at his intercessions before the gods of the upper-world during his life-time. And he obtains at least the comforts which he had in mortal life. Another tablet reads: —

"They have attained repose in the . . . . . they who possessed the earth, who acquired *flocks,* and no rival of them is there. Forever Shuḳur-naḳ[1] in the abyss issues command. He stands before Mushêkil[2] giving orders. As for me I descended into the shadows. Water may he *command* (?)."

The remaining tablets refer to oil, food and drink prepared for the dead at the command of the kindly spirits who attend the gods of Arallu. The conception of spiritual immortality is not here, but it was possible to obtain a favorable judgment from the terrible proctor of souls and to live in happiness beneath the land of sunshine. Even in this modified conception of the state of the soul in the after-world, it is doubtful whether, at the best, that existence was preferable to this mortal life.

Tâbi-utul-Enlil's accusation of divine providence and defense of his own righteousness ends with line 50 of Tablet II. Up to this point there is no clear intimation that he had been afflicted with diseases;[3] he describes only material afflictions and takes a pessimistic view of providence. The poem is constructed on lines very similar to the Hebrew Book of Job in this respect. There also God first tested Job's faith by reducing him to poverty. The Babylonian poem now passes abruptly to the long monologue on his physical torments. This section which begins apparently with Tablet II Obv. 51 ends

1. One of the deities who assist the soul after death. The name means, "Precious is the libator," referring to the libations offered for the deadby the deceased's children.

2. "He who caused to eat."

3. Commentary I 11 is not clear. The line which contains *ḫasikkiš* has been compared with Tab. III Rev. 18, where he is described as one who had lost his hearing. But *ḫasikkiš eme* may mean nothing more than "I am become like a fool."

with Rev. 45. These are natural divisions of the subject matter based upon the ten-line strophes which are not indicated in the texts of the Ashurbanipal Library. The section devoted to this subject contains 60 lines. The diseases from which he suffered are given in the following order; headache, fever, sore eyes, chill, blindness, deafness, apoplexy, sexual disease, hunger, sciatica, and other afflictions.

The Prologue of the Hebrew Job describes this part of Job's afflictions in one phrase, "Satan smote Job with malignant ulcers from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head." But in one of Job's speeches, XXIX—XXXI the Hebrew monologue in many verses resembles the corresponding monologue of Tâbi-utul-Enlil. "By night my bones are corroded from upon me, my fleshless bones lie not down," in Job 30, 17 is a close parallel to Tablet II Rev. 28 where both poems employ the same word for "bones." "My bowels are made to boil and are not silent," Job, 30, 27a, certainly describes an internal malady, and can hardly be taken figuratively, referring to Job's indignation. The parallel with Tablet III Rev. 14 is not very satisfactory but both poems employ the same word for "bowels."

After the long description of his maladies, there follows a ten-line strophe of general observation on his abandoned state, terminated by a remarkable note of faith. Tablet II Rev. 46—55. The priests and seers failed to help him. He asserts that his own god and goddess had abandoned him. "The grave was opened and they took possession of my jewels." The line is strikingly similar to Job, 17, 1, "The grave is (ready) for me." He was disgraced before his land and his jealous friends rejoiced over him. The same idea occurs in a monologue of Job, 30, 10. This section of the monologue terminates in a remarkable assertion of faith in the mercy and pardon of god. The interceding divine spirits, perpetual friends of man, will persuade god to restore the believer to peace and prosperity. These lines certainly refer to reward for righteousness in this life, although they are strikingly similar to a passage in Job, 19, 25, where the Hebrew poet asserts that a righteous sufferer will be vindicated after his

death. The Hebrew poet is interested in defending divine righteousness from a more spiritual point of view. Both poems assert with equal ardor that the sufferer was innocent, and both admit that the ordinary believer could make but one inference; the sufferer could not possibly be a righteous man. The Babylonian poet falls away here to the level of ordinary penitential prayers. His sufferer is vindicated in the orthodox manner. God vindicates the just man by personal reward. That is also the final solution in the Book of Job. But momentarily the Hebrew poet takes a longer and a more spiritual view. From the point of view of Babylonian ethics there is no reason why their poet could not take the same position. They also believed in the reaping of benefits long after the death of him who sowed the good seed. And several lines of the poem shew that it was necessary to vindicate the character of the sufferer as well as to obtain for him material reward.

With Tablet III we reach the long solution of the situation by means of a dream. The dream and its revelation undoubtedly occupied all of Tablet III. From this point onward as in the Epilogue of Job the poet's religious position is that of traditional theology. There is no argument with God as in Job and no formal confession of presumption in criticising providence. In fact Tâbi-utul-Enlil actually admitted that he was not righteous after all. Job did not admit any sin which could have caused his terrible sufferings, he only confessed himself wrong in questioning the justice of god and he was convinced by the argument of god's infinite power.

Tablet IV corresponds in certain measure to the Epilogue of the Hebrew Job, but it emphasizes ritualistic atonement; it remains entirely within the sphere of traditional belief and practice. Marduk, the son of Ea, the efficient god of magic, delivered the sufferer from the power of the demons. Tâbi-utul-Enlil ascribes his deliverance to the efficacy of prayer, mystic services, and sacrifices. There is the usual happy ending to his trials, as the orthodox writer was bound to conclude his theme.

The poem of the Babylonian Job may be briefly analysed into the following scheme. The entire composition is a monologue.

**Section A.** Tablet I.

Tâbi-utul-Enlil suddenly fell from his high estate. His friends deserted him and he passed his days and years in lamentation.

**Section B.** Tablet II, Obv. 1—50. (Ten strophes.)

He questions the justice of god and illustrates his accusation by his own experience. He defends his past actions, but his definition of a righteous man is based entirely upon the religious aspect of life. There is no reference to charity and good deeds as in the Hebrew Job. The only intimation of the ethical side of the problem is made in line 3 where he complains that he found no justice among men. But it may be inferred from many texts cited above that Babylonian thinkers of the period defined the just man as one who was both ethically and ceremonially righteous. And they frankly confessed that in some cases such men found only pain and sorrow in life. This seems to be explained by the fact that man is naturally weak in spirit and will, and unto him was never revealed the mystery of divine wisdom. Divine life and wisdom had been withheld from him and he had lost primeval happiness by the sin of his ancestors. This seems to the writer to be the profound meaning of the monologue. He does not question god's reasons for creating man with such perverse wills. The principle of free will and general human responsibility is assumed. Strict observance of religious rules is the only way of escape from sin; even this had failed.

**Section C.** Tablet II, Obv. 51—Rev. 45. (Six strophes.)

He describes his physical afflictions and again complains of the inability of the priests to obtain release for himself.

**Section D.** Tablet II, Rev. 46—55. (One strophe.)

God had completely abandoned him. But he will yet obtain salvation from god by the intercession of the protecting spirits. In other words the poet returns suddenly to the ordinary law of Providence. The good man will obtain his reward. He does not discuss the

meaning of pain and explain it as a discipline after the manner of the Hebrew Job. He obviously accepts the old theory that sin has been committed by the supposed righteous man.

**Section E.** Tablet III.

Marduk delivers him. This is revealed by a dream. The priests by their rituals were efficacious after all.

**Section F.** Tablet IV.

A hymn to glorify Marduk, to defend the whole system of traditional doctrine and ritual.

On the whole it seems evident that there is a connection between this monologue and the Hebrew Book of Job. The central problem is the same in both poems. There is nothing in the Babylonian poem which does not appear in the writings of many other thinkers of the late period. The literary form in which it is cast is only a carefully developed penitential prayer. It simply sets forth in more powerful and attractive manner the current scepticism of the age and the orthodox reply. The Babylonian and the Hebrew poems both discuss this problem by making use of an old legend: the tale of an ancient peer, whose experiences could be utilized to illustrate the subject.

It must be admitted that the Babylonian poet contributes nothing to the solution of the problem of pain; his production is of course a real contribution to the world's literature and a valuable exposition of Babylonian ethical philosophy.

For them evil was a reality, the demons who tormented mankind and opposed the gods, were real beings, but they had no power over man unless he had committed ethical or religious sin. The system is certainly not a strict dualism. The demons, themselves, were the creations of the gods, and upon the priests the gods conferred terrible power over the spirits of darkness. The universe and all things in it came into existence through the thought of god; the reality of all things consisted in god's mental conception of it and this conception alone gave existence to any thing. Knowledge of this existence is conveyed to the mind by means of the name given

to it by god. And so man by virtue of his knowing the names of demons has power over them in the mystic invocation of divine intervention. Evil is the creation of god to punish sin. That is the fundamental conception of Babylonian ethics. The punishment may be immediate or it may be held in abeyance for generations. Misery will torment humanity until the restoration of Paradise by the power of a divine king, for the curse of primeval sin pursues those "born of woman".

The Babylonian poet darkly intimates the larger problem, he immediately shudders at the thought of sending into the world a document which denied comfort to the believer in a reasonable reward for righteousness. That is also the final attitude of the Hebrew poet. The tendency to defend and emphasize the ordinary rule of providence characterizes both poems. It is the only true position for a religious writer. Both poets confirm the most essential truth in human conduct, or rather in god's conduct of the world. Virtue does bring its reward to most of us. On the other hand for those righteous ones who suffered and found no release, both poems in their own way offer more than scepticism as an explanation of pain.

Tablet I[1].

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. *lud-lul bel ni-me-ki* | 1. I will praise the lord of wisdom.[2] |
| . . . . . | |
| . . . . . *-ḫu . ṣu* | . . . . . |
| . . . . . | |
| . . . . . *ta-ra-nu* | . . . . . protection.[3] |
| . . . . . *a-tam-maḫ* | . . . . . I lay hold of. |
| [*ši-ga-ra ù nap-ra-ka ú-*] *šam-ga-* | [Bolt and] lock have they closed |
| *-ru eli-ia* (9) | against me.[4] |

1. The few lines here given from Tablet I are taken from the Commentary, Col. I, ll. 1—22. The lines are only selections and their actual numbering is unknown.

2. Taken from the title of the series.

3. Commentary I 6.

4. Com. l. 9 f. *napraku* and some other word stood in the break before [*u*]-*šam-ga-ru*. The verb *šagāru*, Heb. *sāgār*, Aramaic *s*$^{e}$*gar*, is not found elsewhere.

| | |
|---|---|
| [ -] *ba-ra ḫa-sik-kiš e-me* (11) | . . . . . ; I am like a deaf man. |
| *šar-ra-ḫa-ku-ma a-tur a-na ri-e-ši* (13) | Although I was powerful, I am become a slave.[1] |
| *na-al-bu-bu tap-pi-e ú-nam-ga--ra-an-ni* (14) | The frenzy of a companion has destroyed me.[2] |
| . . . . . (16) | . . . . . |
| . . . . . *mi-ta* . . . . . (17) | . . . . . |
| [ ]-*biš ina pu-uḫ-ri e-ru-ra-an-ni* (18) | . . . . . in the assembly has he cursed me.[3] |
| *a-na ḳa-ab damiḳti-ia pi-ta-as-su ḫaš-tum*[4] (19) | At the mention of my prosperity his mouth is a cavern.[5] |
| *û-mu šu-ta-nu-ḫu mu-šu gir-ra--ni-e*[6] (20) | By day sighing, by night weeping. |
| *arḫu ki-ta-ia-u-lu*[7] *i-dir-tu šattu* (21) | Monthly lamentation, sorrow each year. |

## Tablet II.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. *akšu-ud-ma a-na ba-laṭ a-dan--na*[8] *i-te-iḳ* | 1. I have attained unto the allotted length of life, yea I have passed beyond it. |

1. *rêšu*, head, like Sumerian *sag* came to mean slave in the sense of "head" = chattel. See *Sum. Gr.* p. 235.

2. Cf. IV R. 59, No. 2, 21.

3. Here the text has a colon.

4. Explained by *šu-ut-*[*tu*], cavern, abyss. So read also in ZA. X 6, 63, *pitassu ḫaš-tum*, said of a lion. *pitâtu* is probably a word for mouth, a feminine plural of *pitû*, open; cf. *ḳarni pitâti*, the split horned, CT. 17, 12, 9 and *pitât pî*, the opening of the mouth, CT. 17, 38, 38.

5. *I. e.* his enemy speaks envy and slander.

6. *girrânû*, loan-word from *gi-er-ra*, reed of weeping = *ḳan bikîti*. Explained by *bi-*[*ki-tu*]. See Radau, *Miscel.* 13 V 14.

7. Inf. I$^2$ of *ḳâlu*. Cf. Ebeling, KAR. 42, 13, *ki-ta-ia-lu ina kal ûmi*. The Commentary explains *kitaiaulu* by *ḳûlu*.

8. *balaṭ adanna*, the life of the fixed period. Cf. *uṣurat adanni iksudaššumma*, "The limit (of life) designed came upon him," Sargon, *Khors.* 117.

| | |
|---|---|
| 2. *a-saḫ-ḫur-ma*[1] *li-mun li-mun-ma*[2] | 2. If I look about me there is evil upon evil. |
| 3. *ṣa-bur-ti u-ta-ṣa-pa*[3] *i-šar-ti ul ut-tu* | 3. Violence[4] increases upon me, justice[5] I see not. |
| 4. *ila al-si-ma ul id-di-na*[6] *pa-ni-šu* | 4. I have cried unto god, but he shewed not his face unto me. |
| 5. *ú-sal-li* $^{ilat}$*Iš-tar-ri ul i-šaḳ-ḳa-a ri-ši-ša* | 5. I have prayed unto goddess but her head is not lifted up unto me. |
| 6. $^{amel}$*barû ina bi-ir*[7] *ar-kat ul ip-ru-us* | 6. The seer by divination has not determined the future. |
| 7. *ina ma-aš-šak-ka*[8] *u ša'ilûti*[9] *ul ú-*[10] *ša-pi di-i-ni* | 7. By libation and necromancy he establishes not my case. |

1. For the force of *ma* to indicate a preliminary circumstance, see *Babyloniaca* I 291; Jensen, KB. VI 43 note; ZA. X 244.

2. Jastrow compares appropriately *habēl habālim* (Vanity of vanities saith the Preacher, all is vanity), Ecclesiastes I 1.

3. Commentary Obv. 23 *u-ta-aṣ-ṣa-pa.*

4. Explained by *rubtu*, disorder, trembling, *ibid*, from *râbu*, tremble, quake.

5. Comm. *mi-šar-tum.*

6. The emphatic ending *a* in these passages denotes the dative of the first person singular as in old Babylonian. Here begins Sm. 1745. Cf. *Job*, 30, 20.

7. Better *bi-ri*, Var. DT. 151, Obv. 6. Cf. IV R. 22 No. 2, 9.

8. The *maššaku* is a grain offering; *še-e-ta* = *ina muššaka*, IV R. 22 No. 2, 10. The verb *našāku*, pour out, throw out, fall down (see Jensen, KB. VI 339, 421) corresponds to Arabic *nasaka*, Aramaic *n$^e$sak*, and Hebrew *nāsak*. The Assyrian form *nasāku*, where *š* became *s*, explains the Hebrew and Aramaic loan-words. For *našāku*, libate, see *Bab.* IV 105, 25 $^{amel}$*naḫḫu liš-ši-ik*, and l. 28, *šibtu liššik.* $^{ilu}$*Anu ša iš-šik ik-ri-bi* (?), CT. 24, 19, 2. I$^2$ *itassuk*, CT. 17, 6, 9. The Commentary, l. 37 explains *maššaku* by *surkinu ša amel ša'ili.*

9. K. 2518 and Sm. 1745 both have *u GALU-EN-ME-LI*, but *u* is omitted on DT. 151 and Comm. I 25. For the abstract noun *ša'alûtu*, cf. *GALU-ŠU-I* = *gullubtu*, RA. 17, 108 n. 91. The variants read "libation of the necromancer". *maššakku* is employed by the *ša'ilu* priests and priestesses. Cf. Frank, *Religion*, 108, 15, *igdamra maššakki-ša ša'ilāti* (after *elimmê aplaḫ*); *maššakku*, a libation to the ghosts. See on the *ša'ilu*, Frank, *ibid:* p. 16.

10. Comm. *i*, *sic*!

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. *za-ki-ḳu*[1] *a-pul-ma ul u-pat-ti uz-ni* | 8. I asked the necromancer but he opened not my ears.[2] |
| 9. *amel mašmašu ina ki-kiṭ-ṭi-e*[3] *ki-mil-ti ul ip-ṭur* | 9. The priest of sacraments by the magic rituals dissolved not my wrath.[4] |
| 10. *aḫ-i-te*[5] *ip-še-e-ti ša-na-a-ti ma-ti-tan* | 10. What perverse things are everywhere? |
| 11. *a-mur-ma ár-kat*[6] *ri-da-ti ip-pi-ru* | 11. I looked and behold trouble is my pursuing destiny,[7] |
| 12. *ki-i ša tam-ki-tum*[8] *a-na ili la uk-tin-nu* | 12. Like unto one who kept not the drink offerings faithfully, |
| 13. *ù ina ma-ka-li-e ilat Iš-tar-ri la zak-ru* | 13. And who at meat has not called upon the name of goddess,[9] |
| 14. *ap-pi la e-nu-u šu-kin-ni la am-ru* | 14. Who has not bowed the face and reverence learned, |
| 15. *ina pi-i-šu ip-par-ku-ú su-up-pi-e teš-li-ti* | 15. In whose mouth prayer and supplication are withheld. |
| 16. *ib-ṭi-lu û-mu ili*[10] *i-mat-tu eš-še-ši* | 16. With whom the "day of god" has ceased and sacrifices diminished, |

1. *zāḳiḳu*, both wind and necromancer. Cf. *zāḳiḳu ina šat mûši*, ZA. 4, 257, 8. See Streck, *Asurb.* 346, 23 and n. 11.

2. The phrase is not to be taken literally, cf. above Tab. I l. 22.

3. Commentary I 27, Sum. *kid-kid-de-e* and explained *kikiṭṭû* = *nipišu*, magic.

4. *I. e.*, god's wrath against man. Cf. *kimilta-šu ippašra*, CT. 34, 16, 31. *irtaši kimilti*, PSBA. 1906, 242, 9.

5. Var. DT. 151 *aḫ-it*.

6. Comm. I 29, *ka-tum*. The idea is repeated in the Bilingual Book of Proverbs, § 39; *la rāš tašimti ippira ridanni*, "A man of no judgement pursues me with trouble".

7. Commentary I 29, *ippiru* = *manaḫtu* = *maruštu*. Cf. *ridît arkāti*, "female inheritor", CT. VI 30 A 3, *et. p.*

8. From *naḳû*. Cf. *ta-an-ki-tum*, libation, Rm. 354, 4 in list with *zirḳu*.

9. The line apparently refers to a custom of benediction at meals.

10. *ûmu ili* = *iššešu*, sacrifice, BA. III 291, 40. *eššešu*, loan-word from *éš-eš*, PSBA. 1904, 56, 25, includes both fruits and animals, ZA. 16, 353. Cf. CT. 22, No. 46, 14. The day of god refers to days fixed in the calender for the sacrifices to various deities. See Landsberger, *Der Kultische Kalender*, 12.

17. *id-du-ú aḫ-šu nu-mi-šu-nu i-mi-šu*
18. *pa-la-ḫu u it-'u-du la ú-šal--me-du nišê-šu*
19. *il-šu la iz-kur e-kul a-kal-šu*
20. *e-zib* $^{ilat}$ *iš-tar-ta-šu maš-šil*[3] *la ub-la.*
21. *a-na ša im-ḫu-ú*[5] *bêl*[6]*-šu im--šu-ú*
22. *niš ili-šu kab-ti ḳal-liš is-kur a-na-ku am-šal*
23. *aḫ-su-us-ma ra-man su-up-pu--ú teṣ-li-ti*
24. *teṣ-li-ti ta-ši-ma-ti*[9] *ni-ḳu-u sak-ku-ú-a*[10]

17. Who has been negligent and despised their injunctions,[1]
18. Who taught not his people to fear and revere,
19. He mentioned not his god, but ate his food.[2]
20. He abandoned his goddess and *cared not at all.*[4]
21. Yea even more than one who became powerful and forgot his master.[7]
22. "He took the name of his honored god in vain,"[8] like unto him have I become.
23. But I myself thought only of prayer and supplication.
24. Supplication was my practice, sacrifice my rule.

1. *nûmu*, Heb. *n$^e$um*.

2. Such is the accepted reading but it is not very satisfactory. The text may be read *e-zir a-dan-šu*, he cursed his appointed time (?).

3. Uncertain. Read *mašḳut*, drink (?). Zimmern, *mašṭar*, written document. The text is corrected by Jastrow, Landersdorfer, etc. to *maš-tim*. My rendering is conjectural. By reading *mašḳut* or *maštim* the meaning is "he brought not libation".

4. Lines 19—20 do not fit into the subjunctive construction of the preceding and following lines.

5. *imḫû* explained by *kabātum*, Comm. I 31.

6. Comm. *be-la*.

7. The line can be understood by regarding it as a continuation of line 18. For *ana* in the sense "more than", cf. K. 1290, 3, their name is more precious than goddesses, *ana Ištarāti*.

8. Probably a quotation from some incantation text. The idea is clearly connected with the third of the ten Hebrew Commandments. Both the Babylonian and Hebrew are based upon the idea of swearing frivolously in the name of a god.

9. So K. 3972, 4. But Comm. *tašîmātum*; K. 2518, *tašîmāt*, which regard the word as nominative.

10. Comm. I 32 explains *sakkû* = *parṣi*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 25. *û-mu pa-la-aḫ ilāni*[1] *ṭu-ub lib-bi-ia* | 25. The day of the worship of the gods was the gladness of my heart. |
| 26. *û-mu ri-du-ti* $^{ilat}$*Iš-tar ni-me-li ta-at-tur*[2]*-ru* | 26. The day of offering to the goddess was my wealth and riches. |
| 27. *ik-ri-bi šarri ši-i ḫi-du-ti* | 27. Adoration of the king,[3] that was my joy, |
| 28. *ù ni-gu-ta-šu a-na da-me-iḳ-ti šum-ma* | 28. And loud music unto him — that was unto grace. |
| 29. *ú-šar*[4] *a-na mati-ia mê*[5] *ili na-ṣa-ri* | 29. I gave instruction unto my land to guard the titles of god. |
| 30. *šu-mi* $^{ilat}$*Iš-tar šu-ḳur*[6] *nišê-ia uš-ta-ḫi-iz* | 30. I taught my people to learn the names of Ishtar. |
| 31. *ta-na-da-a-ti šarri e*[7]*-liš ú-maš-šil* | 31. The praise of the king I made like to that of god. |
| 32. *ù pu-luḫ-tu*[8] *ekalli um-man u-šal-mid* | 32. And I caused the educated to teach (men) reverence for the palace. |

1. K. 3972, 5, *ili.*

2. K. 3972, 6, *tu. ridûtu*, probably same sense as *tardîtu*; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, 95 n. 4.

3. The afflicted man was a prince or high official of Nippur and lived in the period of Dungi or the Isin dynasty when the cult of the deified reigning king was emphasized.

4. K. 3972, *ša-ri.*

5. *A*-Pl. for *me-e*, pl. of *mû*, name. Var. K. 3972, *me-e.* Cf. Ham. Code, IV 63, *me-e* $^{ilat}$*Ištar*; *me-e-ka am-te-eš*, Thy titles have I forgotton?, AJSL. 30, 228. *mê* refers to the titles of the gods in the liturgies. On the *mê* of the gods, see SBP. XIV n. 2; 138, 29.

6. K. 3972, *ḳu-ru.*

7. K. 3972, *i-liš*, like a god, with Jastrow. That is clearly the meaning. *e-liš* is a scribal error. The idea is based upon the cults of deified kings.

8. Var. *ti.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 33. *lu*[1] *i-di ki-i it-ti ili i-ta-am-gur an-na-a-ti*[2] | 33. Verily I knew that such things are agreeable unto god. |
| 34. *ša dam-ḳat ra-ma-nu-uš a-na ili ḳul-lul-tum*[3] | 34. What seems good to oneself is worthlessness before god. |
| 35. *ša ina lib-bi-šu mu-us-su-kat*[4] *eli ili-šu dam-ḳat* | 35. What to his mind is despicable, seems good before god. |
| 36. *aḫ-ú ṭe-im ilāni ki-rib šami-e i-lam-mad* | 36. Who comprehends the will of the gods in the midst of the heavens? |
| 37. *mi-lik ša ili za-nun zi-e*[5] *i-ḫa--ak-kim man-nu* | 37. The counsel of god is full of knowledge, who understands it? |
| 38. *e-ka-a-ma il-ma-da a-lak-ti ili a-pa-a-ti* | 38. Where have pale-faced men comprehended the way of god? |
| 39. *ša ina am-šat ib-lu-ṭu i-mut ud-di-eš* | 39. He who was alive yesterday evening is dead to-day. |

1. K. 3972, *lu-u*.

2. Jastrow, on the supposition that the poem was written at a time when the Semites had rejected the idea of king-worship, refers *annāti* principally to lines 31 f. But the description of the sufferer's virtues and piety, lines 23—32, mingles the ideas of king-worship (cf. ll. 27 f.) with those of the ordinary cults and the impression made by the whole passage is that it came from a period when the deification of kings was orthodox.

3. Man's ignorance of what is pleasing unto god seems to challenge the verity of the orthodox religion. The same idea occurs in the bilingual prayer, IV R. 10, R. 29—33. Man cannot even make sure of pleasing god by prayer, liturgy and sacrifice. In this prayer which dates from Sumerian times he seeks release only in the mercy of god.

4. Holma, *Personennamen*, 72 derives this form and *masāku* (only III[1], III[2], II[1], I[2] Ham. Code § 248, root *wasāku*) from *masāku* to mix. In any case *masāku* has the meaning, remove, reject. The original root in Assyrian seems to be *mašāku*, to disdain, reject, whence *mašku*, evil, wicked. See Landsberger, ZDMG. 69, 515. Cf. *mašiktu*, disdain, PSBA. 1916, 131, 14.

5. *zû*, loan-word from Sum. *zu*, to know. See also II R. 62*a* 49.

| | |
|---|---|
| 40. *sur-riš uš-ta-dir za-mar uḫ-ta--maš* | 40. Quickly is he cast into gloom, suddenly is he crushed down.[1] |
| 41. *ina ṣi-bit ap-pi i-za-am-mur e-li-la*[2] | 41. In a moment[3] he sings a hymn, |
| 42. *ina pi-it pu-ri-di u-zar-rab*[4] *lal-la-ri-eš* | 42. In a pace he wails like a mourner. |
| 43. *ki-i pi-te-e ù ka-ta-mi ṭe-en-ši--na šit-ni* | 43. Like opening and closing[5] their will changes. |
| 44. *im-mu-ṣa-ma im-ma-a ša-lam--taš*[6] | 44. When they are hungry they are like a corpse. |
| 45. *i-šib-ba-a-ma i-ša-an-na-na ila-šin* | 45. When they are satiated they rival their god. |
| 46. *ina ṭa-a-bi i-ta-ma-a i-li ša-ma-ʾi* | 46. In prosperity they speak of ascending unto heaven. |
| 47. *ú-taš-ša-ša-ma i-dib-bu-ba a-rad ir-kal-la* | 47. When they are in trouble they complain about descending to Irkalla.[7] |
| 48. *na-? ki-rib-ši-na la* . . . . . | 48. . . . . among them is not . . . . . |
| 49. . . . . *na-riš? me-iḳ? tu?* | 49. [But as for me] . . . disaster(?). |
| 50. . . . . *li-ia in-ni-eš-ra* | 50. The . . . . . of my . . . . . are diminished. |

1. The idea of original sin which caused mortality and sorrow is only intimated in lines 39 f. The poet has this idea in mind, for the phraseology is closely parallel to the *Bilingual Book of Proverbs*, where the theory of original sin is clearly expressed. See p. 20. The brevity of life is referred to in the Dialogue of Pessimism, § K, l. 47.

2. *elilu*, a kind of song. See JRAS. 1921, 178, 31.

3. *ṣibit appi*, sneezing. So Holma, *Körperteile*, 19. For the meaning see also Ungnad, ZA. 31, 269.

4. *zarābu*, press, afflict, is probably not the same root as *zarābu*, cry, roar. Cf. *zarhābu*, roar, and IV R. 54 *a* 21, *ḳu-bi-e ú-ša-az-rab*, he causes cries to be uttered.

5. Day and night. So the Comm. I 33, *û-mu ù mu-ši*.

6. Comm. I 34 *im-mu-ṣa-ma im-ma-a ša-lam-ta-aš: bu-bu-tum*, i. e., *immuṣa* is explained by *bubutu*.

7. From Sumerian *eri-ĝal*, Great City, Land of the dead.

| | |
|---|---|
| 51. ..... *du-tum* (?) *šami-e i-zi-ʾi* | 51. ..... sweats. |
| 52. ..... *i-ši-ḫa ṭi-ʾ-ú* | 52. ..... is grown mighty the headache.[1] |
| 53. *šu-lum lim-nu it-ta-a-a*[2] *apsu-uš-šu* | 53. An evil ghost[3] comes unto me from its nether sea. |
| 54. ..... *ṭi-ʾ-i u-ṣa-a ul-tu É-kur* | 54. ..... headache has ascended against me from Ekur.[4] |
| 55. [*la-bar-tu u-ri-*] *da ul-tu ki-rib šadi-i* | 55. The [hag-demon] descended from within the mountain.[5] |
| 56. ..... *ru šu-ru-up-pu-u i-nu-šu* | 56. My ..... from ..... and chill quake, |
| 57. *it-ti ur-ki-tum irṣi-tim*[6] *i-pi-ṣi lu-ʾ-tu* | 57. And like the flowers of the earth it turns pale with disease. |
| 58. .....*pu-ḫur-šu-nu ište-niš iṭ-ḫu-ni* | 58. [ ] all of them together came nigh unto me. |
| 59. [*la-as-su muruṣ ḳaḳ-ḳa*]-*di i-te-ʾ-ú muḫ-ḫi* | 59. [Torment and headache][7] crush my head. |
| 60. ..... *i-ki-lu*[8] *i-na-i-lu ênû-ia* | 60. [My ....] are dumb (?), my eyes flow. |
| 61. *la-ba-ni e-te-ḳu*[9] *ú-ram-mu-ú ki-ša-du* | 61. They lacerate my breast, they tear the neck.[10] |

1. A disease personified as a demon.

2. The first example of the verb *atû*, to come, in Assyrian. Restored from Comm. I 35. See *nîtû*, Rev. 40.

3. *šulum* = *eṭimmu*, Comm. I 47. Certainly the same root as *šalamtu*, corpse, and *šulmu*, *šulmatu*, sunset. See Tab. III Rev. 6.

4. "House of the Mountain", lower world.

5. Cf. Tab. III R 8.

6. Comm. I 36. *ur-kit irṣi-tum i-pi-iṣ-ṣu*. For *urḳit irṣitim*, v. CT. 15, 36, 12.

7. See Tab. III R. 14.

8. For *iḳîlu* from *ḳâlu* = *sakātu*? See ZDMG. 74, 178.

9. Cf. *laban-šu i-ti-iḳ*, IV R. 29, no. 3, 5. *e-ti-iḳ ḳillati*, remove my shame, KING, *Magic*, 2, 39. A verb *etēḳu*, to remove, expel, crush, is certain, but Comm. I 38 has *itīku*, supposed to be cognate of Arabic *hataka*, and the verb always appears in Assyrian as *etēku*. Cf. *šipṭa mûtānê šu-tu-ki*, EB., *KAR.*, 44, 20.

10. The subject is the diseases referred to in lines 52—55.

| | |
|---|---|
| 62. [. . *i-maḫ*]-*ḫa-ṣu la-li-e it-te-ru*[1] | 62. They smite my . . . . , they take away beauty. |
| 63. . . . . *il-pu-tu ra-'-ba id-du-ú* | 63. [My . . . .] they have disturbed and sent quaking. |
| 64. . . . . *bi-ia ip-pu-ḫu i-ša-tu* | 64. In my . . . . . they have kindled fire. |
| 65. . . . . *ú-na-ti-ia ut-ti-[ ]*[2] | 65. . . . . my utensils they have [*defiled*]. |

Reverse.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. . . . . *u-la-'i-bu a-* . . . . . | 1. . . . . they have afflicted . . . . |
| 2. [ina] *ri-mu-tu u-la-'i-lu ú-niš--šu pi-it-ri*[3] | 2. *With* laxity have they . . . . . , they have caused to quake my . . . . . |
| 3. [*i*]-*na zak-ru i-bu-tu i-ga-ri-iš* | 3. With *torture* have they destroyed like a wall. |
| 4. *gat-ti rap-šat ú-ru-ba-iš*[4] *uš-ni-i-la*[5] | 4. My noble stature like a willow they have caused to bend. |
| 5. *ki-i ú-lil-te*[6] *an-na-bi-ik pu-pa--niš an-na-di* | 5. Like the plant *uliltu* am I uprooted and thrown upon my stomach.[7] |
| 6. [*a*]-*lu-u zu-um-ri i-te-di-iḳ ṣu--ba-ti* | 6. The *alû* demon has clothed my body in a garment. |
| 7. *ki-ma šu-uš-kal-li ú-kat-ti-man--ni šit-tu* | 7. Like a net trouble has covered me. |

1. From *eṭēru*.
2. End of K. 8396.
3. *pitru*, dung, offal, hardly possible here.
4. Comm. I 37 *ur-ba-ti-iš*.
5. Comm. *ni-il-lum*.
6. An aquatic plant, Comm. I 40 = *sungirtu*, Syriac *sungîrtâ* (Martin). Also *sungiru* a plant in the diet of the 8th month to be eaten *ina labti*. II R. 60, 49.
7. This meaning of *pupapu*, Var. Comm. 51 *puppaniš*, after Martin is confirmed by other passages; v. Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, p. 65 n. 8.

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. *pal-ṣa-a-ma*[1] *ul i-na-aṭ-ṭal i--na-a-a* | 8. My eyes look but see not. |
| 9. *pi-ta-a-ma ul i-šim-ma-a uz--na-a-a* | 9. My ears are open but they hear not. |
| 10. *kal pag-ri-ia i-ta-ḫaz ri-mu-tu* | 10. Weariness takes hold of my whole body. |
| 11. *mi-šit-tu im-ta-ḳut eli šêrê-ia* | 11. Apoplexy has fallen upon my flesh. |
| 12. *man-ḳu iṣ-bat i-di-ia* | 12. Weakness has seized my hand. |
| 13. *lu-ʾ-tu im-ta-ḳut eli bir-ki-ia* | 13. Pollution has fallen upon my genitals, |
| 14. *da-pat-ma na-mu-ši-ša* [*i*]*-na mi-a-a* | 14. And it has assaulted the *glands* in my bowels.[2] |
| 15. [*mur*]*-ṣu šuk-šu-du ú-nap-paḳ ša . . . . . .* | 15. Of sickness which befel me I writhe, . . . . . |
| 16. *?-du-tu mu-tu i-te-kil kal? pag? ri? ia* | 16. With . . . . . and death grows dark my *whole body.* |
| 17. [*i*]*-ša-as-sa-ni-ma ša-ʾi-li ul ap-pul* | 17. My necromancer cries to me and I answer not.[3] |
| 18. [*ni*]*-ši?-ia i-bak-ku-u ra-ma--ni*[4] *ul i-šu*[5] | 18. My people weep and find not mercy. |
| 19. *ina pi-ia na-aḫ-bal*[6] *na-di-ma* | 19. In my mouth is laid a fishnet. |
| 20. *ka-at-ra-ku*[7] *si-ki-ir šap-te-ia* | 20. I halt in the speech of my lips. |
| 21. *lib-bi e-di-iš pi-ḫi par-ḳu . . . . . ia* | 21. Dumb is my heart entirely, split are my [*loins*]. |

1. *palāṣu*, quake, Heb. פלץ. Of the eyes also in CT. 15, 35, 17, *pal-ṣa-a enû-ka.* Original sense split, Arabic *faṣal.* The sense seems to be "My eyes are open and turn normally but function not." Cf. *pulluṣu*, Syn. *nikilmû*, to see, look, Br. 9308.

2. Reading and text uncertain. For *mû*, intestines, cf. *ma-ʾ-i-ni*, Our bowels, Creation I 101.

3. Here begins Eb., *KAR.*, no. 108.

4. K. 8396, *man.*

5. Traces on K. 8396 favor [*i-*]*ši.*

6. KAR. 108, *ba-lu.*

7. Syriac *kᵉṭar*, halt, restrain. See also Harper, *Letters* 362, R. 4; 896, 10; LSS. II¹, p. 3.

22. [ ]-*riš bu-bu-te*[1] *ka-tim ur-*[2] [*ú-di?*]
22. Like . . . . . with hunger is my *gullet* closed.

23. *aš-na-an šum-ma da-ad-da--riš a-la-ʾ-uṭ*[3]
23. Wheat be it like filth I consume.

24. [d]*Siriš nap-šat ilāni eli-ia uš-ḫal-ṣu*
24. Wine the soul of the gods they have caused to filter away from me.

25. *ap-pu-na-ma i-te-ri-ik si-li-e--tu*[4]
25. Exceedingly long has the misery endured.

26. *ina la ma-ka-li-e zi-mu-u-*[*a* . . . . . ]
26. By being without food is my appearance [made frail].

27. *še-i-ri iš-taḫ-ḫa*[5] *da-mi* is--su (?)-[ ]
27. My flesh is flabby, my blood . . . . .

28. *e-ṣi-en-te*[6] *us-su-ḳat a-ri ma-ad-* . . . . . .
28. My bones are cleaved, my *skin* is . . . . .

29. *ši-ir-a-nu-u-a nu-up-pu-ḫu u--ri-iḳ-tum meš-*[*ri-tu-u-a*]
29. My muscles are inflamed, yellow are my *limbs*.

30. *a-ḫu-uz irša me-si-ru mu-ṣi-e uš-ni-ḫu*
30. I have taken to a bed of misery, the exit they have suppressed.

31. *a-na ki-suk-ki-ia i-tu-ra bi-e-tu*
31. The house has become my prison.[7]

1. Cf. Holma, *Kleine Beiträge*, p. 3 n. 4.

2. *ur* is certain on K. 8396. *RU* in Ebeling's copy must be an error.

3. Comm. I 42 and l. 1 of Sippar 37 R. 1.

4. Root *salû* = *zalālu*, be worthless, to despise, Syn. *marāṣu*. See MVAG. 1909. 3, p. 114 n. 2, 118 n. 4. The line is preserved on Comm. I 43; Eb. 108, 9 and Sippar 37.

5. *šaḫāḫu*, be limpid, Arabic *saḥḥa*. Cf. *ḳaḳḳad-su išaḫḫuḫ*, CT. 23, 33, 22. *zi-zi* = *šaḫāḫu šа* [*šêri*], Br. 2348.

6. Both Scheil and Messerschmidt read *da-tum* on Sipp. 37, which is erroneous. *eṣentu* = *eṣimtu*. *ussuḳat*, from *esēḳu*, hew, cut. Also the root עשק, to maltreat, press upon, Ar. *ʿasaḳa*, would be possible. Jastrow does not give Messerschmidt's copy of the end of this line.

7. Comm. I 45 = K. 2518 R. 1.

32. *il-lu-ur-tum*[1] *ši-ri-i̯a na-da-a i-da-a-a*
32. Fetters are my flesh and my hands are limp.

33. *maš-kan ram-ni-i̯a muḳ-ḳu-tu*[2] *še-pa-a-a*
33. My own chains are my feet which limp.

34. *ni-da-tu-u-a šum-ru-ṣa mi-ḫi-iṣ-tu dan-[nat]*
34. My . . . . . are afflicted with disease, the wound is severe.[3]

35. *ḳi-na-zu id-da-an-ni ma-la-a ṣil-la-a-tum*
35. A scourge has one laid upon me full of bruising.[4]

36. *pa-ru-uš-šû u-saḫ-ḫi-la-an-ni zi-ḳa-tum*[5] *dan-nat*
36. With a goad one has pricked me, fierce is the sting.

37. *kal û-mu ri-du-ú i-ri-id-dan-ni*
37. All day the pursuer pursues me.

38. *ina šat mûši ul ú-nap-pa-ša-an-ni sur-riš*
38. During the night he gives me no breath for a moment.

39. *ina i*[6]*-tab-lak-ku-ti pu-uṭ-ṭu-ru rik-su-ú-a*
39. Through wrenching are my cords loosened.

40. *meš-ri-tu-u-a su-up-pu-ḫa i-ta-at-ta-a*[7] *a-ḫi-tum*
40. My limbs are dismembered, they march out of unison.

41. *ina ru-ub-ṣi-i̯a*[8] *a-bit ki-i al-pi*
41. In my dung I pass the night like an ox.

1. Comm. I 46 *išuillurtum*.

2. Better. Sippar Var. *šum-ḳu-ta*.

3. The text is known only from Jastrow's transcription after the unpublished copy of Sippar 37. See JBL. 25, 170 n. 151.

4. *kinazu* is explained by *is-daḫ-ḫu*, Comm. I 50. *ṣillatum*, an abstract noun is explained by *katātum*, possibly Inf. of *katātu*, cut, bruise. *ṣillātu* is here connected with Arabic *ṣalā*, to beat the back, and *ṣalān*, back. Martin compares Arab. *ṣallatun*, hide, leather, Targumic *ṣallā*. The exegesis is uncertain. Sippar 37 *malāti*, regarding *ḳinazu* as feminine.

5. Sipp. 37, *ti*. K. 3972 R. 2, *ta*. Text from Comm. II 1.

6. Var. Sipp. 37 *ú* !

7. IV[2] from *nîtû*, march. The root is probably *atû*, v. Obv. 53. Often in astronomy as *ittintu*, Thompson, *Reports*, 124, 1; 124, 4; Virolleaud, Suppl.[2], 52, 3. Boissier, *DA*., 103, 5. Here *zi* (= *telû*) = *nitû*, VR. 16, 33.

8. See BE. 31, 74, 42. This is line 1 on K. 3323 Rev.

| | |
|---|---|
| 42. *ub-tal-lil ki-i immeri ina ta-ba--aš-ta-ni-ia* | 42. Like a sheep I mix in my excrements.[1] |
| 43. *sakik-ki-ia iš-ḫu-ṭu* $^{amel}$*maš--mašu* | 43. My paralysis has eluded the priest of magic. |
| 44. *ù te-ri-ti-ia* $^{amel}$*barû u-teš-ši* | 44. And my omens the seer has left obscure.[2] |
| 45. *ul ú-šà-pi a-ši-pu ši-kin mur-ṣi-ia* | 45. The priest of incantation has not discovered the state of my sickness. |
| 46. *ù a-dan-na si-li-'-ti-ia*[3] $^{amel}$*barû ul id-din* | 46. And the seer gave not a term to my misery. |
| 47. *ul i-ru-ṣa ilu ḳa-ti*[4] *ul iṣ-bat* | 47. God came not to my aid, he took not my hand. |
| 48. *ul i-ri-man-ni* $^{ilat}$*Iš-ta-ri i-da-a-a ul il-lik* | 48. My goddess had no compassion upon me, she went not at my side. |
| 49. *pi-ti ki-maḫ ir-šu-ú šu-ka--nu--u-a*[5] | 49. The grave[6] was opened, they took possession of my jewels. |
| 50. *a-di la mi-tu-ti-i-ma bi-ki-ti*[7] *gam-rat* | 50. Before my death (took place), lamentation for me was finished. |

1. Comm. II 3. Cf. IV R. 22, no. 2, 19.

2. *ešû* is a confusion of two roots, Arabic *ǧathaỉ*, be obscure, dark, and *ʿathiỉa*, to do evil, rebel. The verb *ešû*, be dark, is properly rendered in Sumerian by *gíg*, see K. 4623, Obv. 7. Sumerian *sūǧ*, pluck away, to confuse, is the proper equivalent of *ešû*, to do evil, rebel, afflict, as in CT. 16, 23, 335; CT. 16, 19, 40. But *sū*$^{c}$ is erroneously employed by the Semitic scribes for *ešû*, be dark, as in IV R. 29* A 16 and B 23; Ebeling, *KAR.* 97, 11.

3. See above l. 25.

4. Var. K. 3323, *ḳatê*, dual.

5. *šukanû*, also *šukanu*, treasures. See Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 391.

6. *kimaḫu* on Sipp. 37. Usually *kimaḫḫu*, loan-word from *ki-maǧ*, the vast underworld. Cf. *šam ašaġu ša ina eli kimaḫḫi izazzu*, The thorn tree which stands upon a grave, CT. 23, 41, 13. In VS. I 54 *ki-maǧ* designates an inscribed cone placed in a grave. With this line compare *Job* 17, 1.

7. K. 3323, *tum*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 51. *kal ma-ti-ia ki-i ḫa-bil*[1] *ik-bu-ni* | 51. All my land said "How is he disgraced?" |
| 52. *iš-me-e-ma ḫa-du-u-a*[2] *im-me-ru pa-nu-šu* | 52. My offender heard of it and his face beamed. |
| 53. *ḫa-di-ti ú-ba-as-si-ru ka-bat-ta-ša*[3] *ip-pir-du* | 53. Unto my female offender they announced the tidings and her soul was glad. |
| 54. *i-di û-mu ša gi-mir dim-ti-ia* | 54. But I know the day of the cessation of my tears, |
| 55. *ša ki-rib*[4] *še-di-e ilu-ut-su-un i-rim* | 55. A day of the grace of the protecting spirits; their divinity will be merciful. |

## Tablet III.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. *kab-ta-at ḳat-su ul a-li-' na-ša-ša* | 1. Heavy was his hand, I was not able to bear it.[5] |

1. Prm. of *ḫabālu*, to afflict, despise. Jastrow, ZA. 20, 194 connected *ḫabil* with the word *ḥ-b-l* of Palmyrene sepulchral inscriptions where it means "alas!, O woe!" In the Talmud it is employed in the same sense, *ḫabēl 'al*, "Alas for etc." See Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 311. In Palmyrene and the Talmud the word seems to be a noun, Oh ruin!, hence alas!, and corresponds rather to Assyr. *ḫabiltu*. The construction in Assyrian, at any rate in this passage, is quite different.

2. *ḫadû* and *ḫadîti* (l. 53) are here regarded as participles of the verb *ḫatû*, approach, seize. Cf. *aš eš-lim ḫa-du-ú-a ša iš-tam-ma-ru eli-ia*, K. 3513 R. 13.

3. So Sipp. 37, but K. 3972 and 3323 have *šu*, Masc. for Feminine.

4. For *kiribu*, see Delitzsch, H. W. 351 and Ebeling, *KAR.* 45, 24, *ki-rib-ki*, thy grace. All previous interpreters have taken *kirib* as a preposition and *irim* which has been read *iḳir*, as dependent upon *ûmu ša*, "the day when their divinity would be honored." That is grammatically impossible for the verb would then be subjunctive. The two lines are an interpolation in the long description of the man's suffering, and they express a belief in final salvation by the mercy of the protecting spirits, the *šêdu*. The *šêdu* (see BL. 131) were inferior deities who attended the great gods and befriended man. They were generally associated with Ishtar (see Eb., *KAR.* 16, 15) as intercessors before the gods on behalf of men. The colophon at the end of K. 2518 is edited by Streck, *Asurb.* II 354*b*. The colophon of DT. 151 = Streck, *ibid.* 356*c*.

5. Here begins KAR. 175. The text is preserved as the catch-line on K. 3323 and in Comm. II 4.

| | |
|---|---|
| 2. [kab]-*rat pu-luḫ-ta-šu ú-*[ ] | 2. Mighty was his terror; I . . . . . it. |
| 3. [šib]-*sat-su iz-zi-ta a-bu-ba-* -ma . . . . . | 3. His raging anger like a deluge . . . . . |
| 4. dan-*na-at ki-du-ta-šu i* . . . . . | 4. Powerful was his . . . . . |
| 5. ? NU-GIG *kab-ṭa ra-ma-nu-šu i-* . . . . . | 5. In . . . . . he was distinguished, he . . . . . himself. |
| 6. *e-ru-ti-ma ša-ku-ú šar-ḫat du-ni-*[nu-*šu*] | 6. Tall was he in *bust*,[1] glorious was his *form*. |
| 7. ? -ra- ? *-šu iš-te-niš a-na-* . . . . | 7. His . . . . . all together I . . . . . |
| 8. *šuttu mu-na-at-tu mal-ma-liš šu*-ta-m[u-*rat*] | 8. A dream in slumber *made apparition* in two parts (?). |
| 9. *iš-ta-nu iṭ-lu a-tir ši-kit-*[*ta*] | 9. A certain hero there was, surpassing in build. |
| 10. *mi-na-ta*[2] *šur-ru-uḫ lu-bu-uš-* -*ta ud-du*-[uš] | 10. In shape he was made glorious, in raiment *newly clad*. |
| 11. *aš-šu ina mu-na-at-ti šid-du šu-nu-ta*[3] ? ? | 11. Since in slumber the *curtain of dreams* . . . . . |
| 12. i (?)-*ṭim-me ḫa* ? kal ? la bu ul ša | 12. The *ghosts* . . . . . |
| 13. . . . . *it-ta-zi-ma eli-*[*ia*] | 13. . . . . arose above *me*. |
| 14. . . . . *iḫ-ḫa-mu-u šêr-u-*[*a*] | 14. I . . . . . and my flesh quivered.[4] |
| 15. . . . . *be-el-tu iš-pur*-[an-ni] | 15. . . . . the queen *sent me*. |
| 16. . . . . | 16. . . . . |
| 17. . . . . *ma a-tam-ma a* . . . . . -taḫ-*šu* . . . . . | 17. . . . . |
| 18. . . . *um-ma iš-pu-*[*ra-an-ni* . . .] | 18. . . . . sent me . . . . . |
| 19. i-*ḳu-lu-ma ul* . . . . . | 19. They cried aloud and not . . . . |
| 20. *ilu Šamaš iš-* . . . . . | 20. Shamash . . . . . |

1. See PBS. XII 10.
2. Sic! for *minâti*.
3. *šunâtu*, dreaming occurs also on Ni. 13, 517, 7 in JAOS. 38, 82.
4. Cf. KB. VI 164, 12.

| | |
|---|---|
| 21. *aš-ni-ma [u-tul šutta a-na-aṭ-ṭal]* | 21. Again [I lay down and saw a dream]. |
| 22. *ina šutti aṭ-[ṭul . . . . . .]* | 22. In a dream I saw . . . . . [1] |
| 23. *iš-ta-nu iṭ-lu . . . . . .* | 23. There was a certain hero . . . . . |
| 24. *igu BI . . . MU mul-li-lu ta-mi-iḫ rit-[tu-ú-šu]* | 24. A . . . . . of purification[2] in his hand he held. |
| 25. *Ṭâbi-utul-Enlil[3] a-šib Nibru-ki* | 25. "O Tâbi-utul-Enlil, resident of Nippur, |
| 26. [*a-na*] *ub-bu-bi-ka iš-pu-ra-an-ni* | 26. For thy cleansing he has sent me." |
| 27. *mê na[4]-šu-ú eli-ia id-[di-ma]* | 27. Water to bear he has placed upon me. |
| 28. *ši-pat ba-la-ṭi id-da-a ú-maš-ši-'i [. . . . . i]* | 28. The incantation of life he cast upon me and made bright my . . . . . |
| 29. *sap-nit[5]-ma šu-ut-tu a-na-aṭ-[ṭal]* | 29. The woe was overcome I *saw.* |
| 30. *aš-[. . . . .] šutta aṭ-ṭu-lu mu-ši-ti-ma* | 30. . . . . the dream which I saw in the night. |
| 31. *ni-ši-iš . . . . . ardatu ba-nu-ú zi-[mu-u-ša]* | 31. Afar off . . . . . a maid, bright was her appearance. |
| 32. *šar-ḫa-at . . . . ti i-liš . . . . .* | 32. Glorious in . . . . . was she; like a god[6] . . . . . |
| 33. *i-ru-ba-am-ma i-tas- . . . ti ma-a* | 33. She entered and . . . . . |
| 34. *ki-ba-a a-ḫu-la-bi . . . . . .* | 34. The commanding of my mercy . . |

1. First line on Sippar 55 = PSBA. 1910, 18.

2. *mullilu*, part. II[1] of *elēlu*, is also the name of a vessel, Zimmern, Rt. Taf., p. 132, n. 6.

3. Written *làl-ùr-$^{d}$Elim-ma*, and explained by *ṭa-a-bi u-tu-ul* $^{d}$ ►—◄, Comm. II 5, $^{d}$*BAD* is certainly Enlil or Bêl here, for $^{d}$*Elim-ma* is never a title of Ea, whose name is also sometimes written $^{d}$*BAD*, v. RA. 12, 84, n. 2. A list of the names of early Sumerian celebrities, V Raw. 44 *b* 17, explains the name as *Ṭâb-utli-* $^{d}$*Enlil*. "Good is the bosom of Enlil." A commentary on ancient legends refers to the same name, King, *Creat.*, I 217, 2; *làl = ṭâbi; ùr = utlum; elim-ma = [Enlil]*. See Poebel, PBS. IV 42.

4. Ebeling's copy has *MU*.

5. So the copy. Read *PA + IB* for *PA + LU*. For *šuttu*, see *Epic of Creation* II 90.

6. Cf. Tab. II Obv. 31.

| | |
|---|---|
| 35. *la ta-pal-laḫ iḳ-ba-a* . . . . . | 35. "Not shalt thou fear," he commanded . . . . . |
| 36. *me-mu-u šutta i-pu* (?)*-šu*[1] . . . | 36. Whatsoever by dream he *wrought* . . . . . |
| 37. *iḳ-bi-ma a-ḫu-lap*[2] *danniš šu-nu-uḫ-ma* | 37. He commanded for me mercy — me the mightily afflicted. |
| 38. *aḭ-um-ma ša ina šat mu-ši ib-ru-u bi-*[*ri*] | 38. And then there was some one who during the night divined my vision. |
| 39. *ina šutti Ur-Bau*[3] *i-*[*ru-ub*][4] | 39. In the dream Ur-Bau *entered,* |
| 40. *iṭ-lu dar-ru*[5] *a-pir a-ga-šu* | 40. A mighty hero, who wore his crown; |
| 40[b]. *masmašu-ma*[6] *na-ši li-*[ū-um][7] | 40[b]. A priest of magic was he bearing a *tablet* (saying) |
| 41. *ilu Marduk-ma iš-pu-ra-an-*[*ni*] | 41. "Marduk has sent me." |
| 42. *a-na Šub-ši-meš-ri-e-ilu Nergal u-bil-la ṣi-*[im-ra][8] | 42. Unto Šubši-mešrê-Nergal he brought *treasures.* |
| 43. *ina ḳatê-šu ellāti ú-bil-la ṣi-*[im-ra] | 43. In his clean hands he brought *treasures.* |

1. Sippar 55 has a different text; . . . . . *ina mim-ma šutti* . . .

2. Comm. II 6, *iḳ-ba-a a-ḫu-la-pi*, which is a better text. *aḫulap* = *adi mati*, How long? Then "petition," and then "the answer to prayer." Cf. the N. Pr. *Á-zi-da* = *aḫulap-kînim*, "Mercy of the faithful one," PBS. XI 7 VI 20. KAR. 175 Rev. 7, *iḳ-bu-u a-ḫu-la-bi danniš šum-*[*ru-uṣ*].

3. *Ur.-d. Nin-tin-dig-ga.* Identified by Landersdorfer with the famous patesi of Lagash who lived about 2700 BC. toward the end of the kingdom of Agade. He was recognized in Sumer as one of the founders of the Sumerian renaissance. See the writer's *History of Sumer and Accad* (*Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I).

4. The context demands a verb. Thompson restores *it-tan-mar*. The reading *irub* or *erub* is taken from VR. V 53 = Streck, *Asurb.* 116. Ebeling's copy, *TIN* . . . ? . . . ?

5. Comm. II 7, *dar-ru* = *dan-nu*. But note SAI. 504 and Br. 806, *sù-mú* = *darru*, i. e., *ziḳna zaknu*, "bearded." This is the original sense but it cannot apply to a Sumerian patesi of the period of Ur-Bau, for the Sumerians of that time were clean-shaven.

6. KAR. 175, *mašmaš-um-ma*.

7. Thompson restores *li-*[*e-ti*]. But cf. Gudea, Cyl. A V 3; VI 4. Ebeling, *li-'u-um* (?).

8. So Thompson.

| | |
|---|---|
| 44. a-na *mut-tab-bi-li-ia ka-tuš-šu ip-[kid]*[1] | 44. To my[2] mediator he entrusted them. |
| 45. [*i-na*] *mu-na-at-ti iš-pu-ra ši-pir-[ta]* | 45. At dawn he sent me a message. |
| 46. *it-tuš dam-ka-tu nišê-ia uk-tal-[lim]* | 46. His propitious omen he caused my people to see.[3] |
| 47. *ina si-li-tu mut-tal-ku* MUŠ-IT[4] . . . . . | 47. Him that suffers in misery he . . . . . |
| 48. *mur-ṣi ár-ḫi-iš u-ga-mir iḫ-ḫi-pi [ṭup ḫi-ṭi-ia]* | 48. My sickness quickly has he ended, broken is the [tablet of my sins].[5] |
| 49. *ul-tu ša be-li-ia lib-ba-šu i-*[nu-ḫu] | 49. After the heart of my lord reposed, |
| 50. *ša* $^{ilu}$*Marduk ri-'e-i*[6] *ka-bat-ta-šu ip-šaḫ* | 50. Of Marduk the shepherd was the soul appeased. |
| 51. . . . . *ú un-nin-ni-ia* . . . . . | 51. . . . . my prayer he *received.* |
| 52. ma-ḫar-šu ṭa-a-bu . . . . . | 52. *Before* him good . . . . . |
| 53. . . . . *a-ḫu-la-bi* . . . . . | 53. He (commanded) my mercy. . . |
| 54. . . . . *a-na šu-bi-e* . . . . . *. . . te* | 54. . . . . to glorify . . . . . |
| 55. . . . . *a-na du-lul* . . . . . | 55. . . . . to revere . . . . . |
| 56. . . . . *ar-ni* . . . . . | 56. . . . . my wrongdoing he . . . . |
| 57. . . . . *in-nit-ta*[7] . . . . . | 57. . . . . the punishment he . . . . |
| 58. . . . . šar *ti* . . . . . | 58. . . . . |
| 59. *e-ga-ti-ia u-ša-bil šâra* | 59. The wind he caused to take away my shortcomings.[8] |

1. So Landersdorfer.

2. Refers to Tâbi-utul-Enlil.

3. The poet probably means that Marduk by this omen caused the people to see how Tâbi-utul-Enlil had been forgiven. They had turned against him even as his friends had done, believing him to be a great sinner. See Comm. I 14 and p. 13 l. 21.

4. So Thompson's copy. Text may be in disorder.

5. Cf. *Shurpu* IV 58; Zimmern, Rt. 26 III 5.

6. So perhaps KAR. 175. Thompson's copy *si-ni-i*; read *ri-é-i*?

7. For *ennitu*. Cf. IV R. 17, 34; KAR. 42 R. 28.

8. The Assur text indicates a section here and the Obverse of Sippar 55 probably terminated with this line. For the text see Comm. II 8.

## Sippar 55 Reverse.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. . . . . *mi-it* . . . . . | 1. . . . . [1] |
| 2. . . . . | 2. . . . . |
| 3. . . . . *ki-ma te-* . . . . . | 3. |
| 4. [uṭ-ṭe]-iḫ-*ḫa-am-ma ta-a-šu ša* . | 4. He added thereunto his curse which . . . . |
| 5. [*iš-tap*]-*par imḫulla a-na i-šid šami-e* | 5. He sent the evil wind to the horizon of heaven. |
| 5ᵇ. *a-na i-rat irṣi-tim u-šar* (?)[2] | 5ᵇ. Unto the bosom of the lower world it *descended.* |
| 6. [*ú*]-*rid ap-su-uš-šu šu-ú-lu lim-nu* | 6. The evil ghost descended to its nether sea.[3] |
| 7. *ú-tuk-ku la ni-bu*[4] *ú-tir É-kur-ri* | 7. The nameless spirit he caused to return to Ekur. |
| 8. *is-kip la-bar-tu*[5] *ša-da-a uš-te-šir* | 8. He annihilated the hag demon and drove her to the mountain. |
| 9. *a-gu-ú ta-ma-tu šu-ru-up-pa-a u-šam-ḫir*[6] | 9. Flood and sea he caused to receive the chill. |
| 10. *i-šid lu-u-tu it-ta-saḫ ki-ma šam-mi* | 10. The root of the disease he tore out like a plant. |
| 11. *šit-ti la ṭa-ab-ṭu ri-ḫa-a ṣa-la-*[*li*][7] | 11. The unpleasant sleep, the bewitching of slumber, |
| 12. *ki-ma ḳut-ru im-ma-lu-ú šami-e uš-ta-*[aṣ-ṣi] | 12. With which the heavens were filled like smoke he caused to go forth. |

1. The Reverse of Tablet III is partially preserved as a catchline on KAR. 175. Here about six lines are missing. The numbering now follows the fragment as published by Thompson. Each number should be raised by 6 or 7 to obtain the original position of the lines.

2. Thompson, *bil.*

3. Cf. Tab. II Obv. 53.

4. For *nibu*, description, cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon* 325, Thompson regards *utukku* as a plural, "The countless spirits." Cf. Tab. II Obv. 54.

5. Usually described as a fever demoness.

6. Thompson, *ṣi.* See Tab. II Obv. 56.

7. This the most probable reading. Cf. Epic of Creat. I 64, *šit-tam ir-te-ḫi-šu*, He bewitched him with sleep, and *iriḫḫi-šu-ma šitta*, ZA. 4, 33, K. 3650 II 2.

13. *ina ʾu-u-a ni-ʾ-u ni-še-eš*[1]

13ᵇ. *ú-šat-bi im-ba-riš irṣi-tim uš-*[ni-iš]

14. *la-as-su*[2] *muruṣ ḳaḳḳadi ša* [te][3]*-ú iš-ḫup* [. . . . . -iš]

15. *is-suḫ*[4]*-ma na-al*[5] *êni-iă ina muḫḫi-ia uš-te-iṣ-*[ṣi]

16. *te-ʾe-a-ti ênê-a-a ša uš-teš-bi-iḫ*[6] *ši-bi-iḫ mu-ú-*[ši]

17. *ú-šat-bi šāru raš-bu u-nam--mir niṭ-*[*la-šin*][8]

18. *uzna-a-a ša uṭ-ṭa-am-mi*[9]*-ma us-sak-ki-ka*[10] *ḫa-sik-kiš*

19. *it-bal a-mi-ra-šin*[11] *ip-te-ti niš-ma-a-a*

13. With woe and wail they were turned back *afar off.*

13ᵇ. He caused them to depart like a cyclone causing the earth *to quake* (?).

14. Torment and head ache, which crush, he has extirpated like

. . . . .

15. He removed the running of my eyes and caused it to *depart* from upon me.

16. The pus[7] of my eyes, which had caused to be spread a curtain of night,

17. A fiery wind he caused to expel and he made luminous their sight.

18. My ears, which were stopped and closed like a deaf man,

19. He took away their filth, he opened my hearing.

1. Here is a colon in the text as Martin, JA. 1910, 131 has seen. *ni-šeš* is then taken by Martin and Landersdorfer from *nîšu*, lion, but the sense demands rather *nisîš.*

2. Ordinarily *lazzu*, Syriac *leztā*, torment. The verb is *lazāzu*, Syriac *lezáz*, to afflict. I² *iltazaz*, CT. 23, 48, 22; ZA. 32, 60.

3. For restoration see Tab. II Obv. 59.

4. After *suḫ* an erasure?

5. See Tab. II Obv. 60.

6. Sic! subjunctive.

7. Probably pl. of *teʾatu*, from Arabic *taʿa*ʿ, exude, flow.

8. Restored by Thompson.

9. Comm. II 9, *me.*

10. Comm. II 9, *ra.*

11. *amīru* = *zi-e uzni*, "dung of the ear," wax in the ear, Comm. II 10. *amīru*, from *amēru*, be full, certainly not "deafness," *per se.* Holma, *Personennamen*, p. 27 cites Egyptian *ʾimr*, be deaf.

| | |
|---|---|
| 20. *ap-pi*[1] *ša ina ri-di um-mi*[2] *u-nap-pi-ḳu*[3] *ni-*[*ip-ša-šu*] | 20. My nose whose *breathing*[4] was compressed by the flow of *mucus*, |
| 21. *ú-pa-aš-ši-iḫ mi-ḫi-iṣ-ta*[5]*-šu-ma a-nap-pu-uš* [rapšiš?] | 21. He allayed its exuding so that I breathe *freely*. |
| 22. *šap-ta-a-a ša il-lab-ba il-ḳa-a rib-*[*ba-ta*] | 22. My lips which were tied and possessed by trembling,[6] |
| 23. *ik-pur pul-ḫat-si-na-ma ki-ṣir-šu-na ip-*[*ṭur*] | 23. He dispelled their fear and severed their knot. |
| 24. *pi-i̯a ša uk-ta-at-ti-mu ṣa-ba-riš aš-*[ku-nu] | 24. My mouth which was closed and which I used in murmurs,[7] |
| 25. *im-su-uš ki-ma ki-e ru-ša-šù uš-*[ ] | 25. He made clean like a plant and its . . . . . he . . . . . |
| 26. [*šin-*][8] *na-a-a ša it-ta-aṣ-ba-ta ište-niš in-ni-*[ ] | 26. My teeth which were jammed and [*locked*] together, |
| 27. [*ip-te-*] *ti bi-rit-si-na-ma ir-da-šin uš-*[ ] | 27. He opened their fastening and their roots he . . . . . |
| 28. [*li-*] *ša-nu ša in-ni-ip-ṭa*[9] *šu-ta-bu-lu la i-*[*li-ʾi*][10] | 28. The tongue which was tied and was not able to discourse, |
| 29. [. . . . .]*-uš ṭu-*pu-uš*-ta-ša-ma* [iḫ][11]*-da-ád at-mu-u-*[*a*] | 29. Its stupidity he [banished] and my speech became joyful. |

1. Text *pa* in the copy.

2. Arabic *hama'un*, slime.

3. Piel of internal condition. See Tab. II R. 15 and below l. 30.

4. So Thompson.

5. Not *miḫiztu*, which means ear, wisdom. Probably from *maḫāṣu*, pour out, flow. Cf. *miḫṣu*, Syn. *ḫammu*, *agammu*, mire, swamp, Sum. *umun*, *Sum. Gr.* 253. *ḫammu* (also *ḫamû*, CT. 12, 2, Obv. 58) is probably identical with *ummu* of l. 20.

6. Lit. "received febleness." *ribbatu*, from *rabābu*, tremble (same root *rabû*) also in Syl. B 149; PBS. V 104 III 12; Yale Syllabary 210.

7. Cf. *šikin pî-ka*, Ebeling, KAR. 102, 15, The act of thy mouth.

8. So also Martin.

9. For *abāṭu*, bind, tie, see *Shurpu* VII 24. IV[3] *ittanibiṭu*, Küchler, Med. 111. Of the eyes, *ub-bu-ṭa*, CT. 27, 10, 17; 31, 7.

10. Thompson's restoration.

11. Thompson, *id*, who reads *iddat* apparently fem. sing. prm. of *edēdu*, be sharp. But *atmû* is masc., cf. *atmû kênu*, AJSL. 1907, 102. And it would be difficult to justify the meaning, "My speech became clear" from *edēdu*. The traces in the copy favor *id*. For *ḫadādu*, see Yale Syl. 193. Probably the same root as *ḫadû*.

| | |
|---|---|
| 30. [*ur-*]'*u-du*[1] *ša in-ni-iš-ru u-nap-pi-ḳu la-gab-biš*[2] | 30. My trachea which was confined and which was compressed like that of a corpse, |
| 31. *uš-ṭib-ma*[3] *i-ra-tu*[4]*-ša ma-li-liš uḫ-tal-la-ša*[5] | 31. He caused to be sound and its songs like a flute were trilled. |
| 32. [*ru*]'*u-ti*[6] *ša ú-tap-pa-ḳu*[7] *la* [*i-*]*maḫ-ḫa-ru* [nipša?] | 32. My lungs which were compressed and received not *breath*, |
| 33. *la-ga-ša*[8] *i-ši-ir*[9]*-ma i-dil-taš ip-ti* | 33. Their restraint was unleashed and he opened their band. |
| 34. . . . . *e-a ša šu-*? ku (?)*-un-ni-šu ú* . . . . . | 34. My . . . . . whose . . . . . |
| 35. . . . . *suḫ-ḫur-tu e-liš ú-šab-* | 35. [For its pain] a reprieve god-like he caused to . . . . . |
| 36. [. . . *a-a*] *u-tam-mi-ra* . . . '*i-iš* . . . . . *uš-si* | 36. My . . . . were stopped up . . . . . |
| . . . . . | . . . . . [10] |

1. *ur-'u-du*, Var. *ur-u-du*, perhaps in Tab. II R. 22, where it means gullet. But the word seems to have been employed for any neck vein or tube, the word being the cognate of Arabic *warīd*, Syr. *warīdā*, neck vein. See Holma, *Körperteile* 43. *ur-'u-u-du*, CT. 14, 3, 31 has a variant *ru-'-tu*, lung, ZA. 33, 18 n. 2.

2. Adverb from *lagabbu*, PBS. V 102 II 11, explained by *amat pag-ri*, "Having to do with a corpse," Comm. II 11.

3. *ma* is certain on K. 3291 II 12. Thompson's copy has *ba*.

4. Comm. II 12, *ti*.

5. Text of Comm. II 12 certainly not *uḫtallil*. *ḫalāšu* is here taken for *laḫāšu*. On *irāti*, songs, see JRAS. 1921, 183.

6. Restored by Holma, *Körperteile* 43 n. 1 and *ru-'u-tu*, lung, Arabic *ri'atun*, ZA. 33, 18.

7. II[2] of *napāḳu*. See l. 20 above.

8. Comm. II 13. *la-ga-a-a-ša*, explained by *šiktum*.

9. Var. *šir*.

10. Here ends the Sippar text 55. From Tab. II the length of Obverse and Reverse is known to have been about 60 lines each, the Obverse being longer since it has no colophon. Tablet III must have continued for about 15 lines. I assign a few lines of the Commentary to Tab. III here.

| | |
|---|---|
| A. *šam-ma-ḫu*[1] *ša ina un-ṣi it-tar-ru-ru ki-ma pi-sa-an-ni ir-rak-su* | The great intestine, which with hunger was empty and was crumpled like a wicker basket, (Comm. II 14) |
| B. *i-maḫ-ḫar ip-te-en-ni ub-ba-la maš-ki-ta* | Receives food, it carries liquid. (Comm. II 15) |
| A. *ki-ša-di ša ir-mu-ú ir-na*[2]*-ma ik-kap-pu* | My neck, which became lax and bent to the root, (Comm. II 16) |
| B. *ú-pat-tin*[3] *ḳin-ni-e a-ma-liš iz-ḳu-up* | He has upheld like a mountain,[4] he has set upright like a cedar.[5] (Comm. II 18) |
| *a-na ga-mir a-ba-ri*[6] *u-ma-ši*[7] *u-maš-šil* | Like unto one complete in might has he made my strength (Comm. II 19) |
| A. *kima na-kim-tum šu-ṣi-i ú-ṣap-pi-ra ṣu-pur-a-a*[8] | Like the *censer* of a thurifer[9] did my *lungs* puff; (Comm. II 21) |

1. From Sumerian *šag-maḫ*, "great heart," the large intestine. Written also *sa-maḫ*, IV R. 59*b* 22. See also Holma, *Körperteile* 173; AJSL. 30, 74.

2. *irna* is commented upon in l. 17 as *e-ri-e-na* = *šur-šu* = *e-ri-na-ti*. *irnu*, *erēnu*, *erīnatu*, are loan-words from Sum. *erin*, *erāna*. See *giš-MUŠ* × *MUŠ* = *šuršu*, Var. *giš-e-ri-in*, MVAG. 1913, 2, 29, 50. Usually *era-a-na*, SBH. 5, 20 = *i-rí-na*, KL. 17 II 3. See also BL. 117, 13 and RA. 15, 107.

3. A root *patānu*, confirm, support, is to be assumed for this passage and for the various forms *pattanu*, *pattannu* etc. in N. Pra. See Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* 328.

4. The Comm. II 18 has *ḳinnû* = *šadû*. For *ḳinnû*, mountain, see Clay, *Miscel.* 44 II 12, where the *ašuḫu* trees grow on the *ḳinnê rabeûtim*.

5. Comm. II 18, *a-ma-lu* = *išu Ù-KU*, usually *ašuḫu*, supposed to be the female cedar, VAB. IV 256, 3 note. Talmudic and Mandean אשוחא. Meissner, MVAG. 1913, 2, 35, disputes the meaning.

6. Loan-word from, *agar* : *á-gar* = *lîtu* RA. 11, 144, 12; *a-gâr-ra* = *ina abari*, Eb., *KAR.*, 14 II 15; Yale Syllabary, 156; CT. 35, 4, 60. Explained by *emuḳu*.

7. *umāšu*, explained by Sum. *KAK-MU*. The root is *emēšu*, Arabic *ḥamisa*, be valiant.

8. *ṣuprā*, some part of the body in pair. Cf. Arabic *zafara*, breathe heavily, expel the breath after holding it.

9. *šuṣû* explained by *ša ilat Iš-tar ana išāti ušêṣu*, He who causes Ishtar (here = Nisaba, i. e. grain) to ascend on fire. Note that *šu-sim*, he who causes to sift, filter, = *šûṣû*, and *sim* = *šaḫālu*, filter, CT. 18, 35, 61. *sim-sim* = *nabû*, ooze, sift, *ibid.* 60. Note *inambi*, he shall filter, for *išaḫḫal*, BE. 31, 66. Delitzsch's entry for *sim*, *Sumerisches Glossar* 247 is not correct.

| | |
|---|---|
| B. *it-bu-uk ma-[na-]aḫ-ta-šin . . . . . šà*[1]*-šin uš-ṭib* | He expelled their weariness, he healed their *agony.* (Comm. II 23) |
| *bir-ka-a-a ša uk-tas-sa-a bu-ṣi . . . . . da*[2] | My knees which were enchained, and which . . . . . like a cave bird, . . . . (Comm. II 25) |
| A. *šuk-lul-tum* ik (?) . . . . a *iš-ta-at . . . . . šu* (?) | The physique was . . . . . *feeble* was the . . . . . (Comm. II 26) |
| B. *im-šu-uš ma-am-mi-e*[3] *ru-šu-uš u-zak-ki* | He wiped away the gangrene, he made it clean like pure gold.[4] (Comm. II 27) |
| *du-ú-tum um-mul-tum*[5] *it-ta-pir-di* | The faded form became bright. (Comm. II 29) |
| *i-na i-te-e* [ilu]*Nāri*[6] *a-šar di-en nišê ib-bir-ru*[7] | At the shore of the river where the judgment of men is proved, (Comm. II 30) |

1. Text uncertain. Before *šà* two signs, apparently *SUD-UD.* Then in l. 23, *manaḫtum* = *gig: . . . . . šù-šû* (sic!) = *šak-du.*

2. *da*, certain; not *-iš. bu-ṣi* = *iṣṣur ḫurri.*

3. *manammû* = *šuḫṭu*, rust, copper. See Jensen, KB. VI 556.

4. Comm. II 28 has *ru-ši-iš* for *ru-šûš*, and Syn. *LU-BI*, i. e. *udu-bi.* Sumerian for *ud-bi* = *ûmiš*, like day.

5. Cf. *kakkab um-mu-lu-ti*, The pale stars, RA. 10, 218, 27. See *ibid.* p. 225.

6. The passage refers to the water ordeal, the test of a man's guilt or innocence by causing him to plunge into the river. The ordeal was in force for testing men accused of witchcraft in the period of the First Babylonian Dynasty and is mentioned in § 2 of the Code of Hammurabi. The Assyrian Code mentions the river ordeal in several laws. It was employed in Assyria for testing a man's veracity when there were no corroborating witnessess (§§ 16, 17, 24). *itê nāri* is explained by *ḫur-šan*, mountain, i. e., "place of judgment," *ḫur-šan* being originally used for the lower world where judgment was pronounced on the souls by Nergal, see Zimmern, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest*[2], p. 3. The ordeal of the "mountain," i. e., the water ordeal was frequently employed in law suits in the Cassite and later periods in Babylonia for determining ordinary truthfulness and rights of a claimant when written evidence failed. For a parallel passage, see IV R. 54, 30.

7. IV[1] of *bâru*, to test, prove.

| | |
|---|---|
| *mut-tu-tu*[1] *am-ma-riṭ, ab-bu-ut-tum ap-pa-šir* | I was shaved on the forehead, I was set free from bondage. (Comm. II 32) |
| . . . . . | . . . . . |
| . . . . . [2] | |
| [ina mu-] uš-*kad*-ru[3] *i-na pi-šir-ti a-ba-'a* | Out of *difficulty* by means of the ritual of redemption I came. (Comm. II 35) |
| [a-na-ku] *mê É-sag-ila e-gu-u ina ḳati-ia li-kin*[4] | I the waters of Esagila — a sinner — have set forth with my hands. (37) |
| *i-na pi-i gir-ra ākili-ia id-di nap-sa-ma* $^{ilu}$*Marduk* | In the mouth of the lion, my consumer, Marduk has placed a bit. (38) |
| $^{ilu}$*Marduk ša mu-kaš-ši-di-ia i-kim as-pa-šu as-suk-ka*[5]*-šu u-sah-ḫir* | Marduk took away the sorcery[6] of my oppressor and turned away his missiles (40) |
| *id-di* [. . . . *ina kiḫullê*[7] . . . .]-*bir* | . . . . the mourner's stool . . . (42) |
| . . . . . *i-na-an-na* | . . . . . (43) |

1. *muttuta gullubu*, to shear the forehead, meant to shave the temple in such manner as to leave a slave's mark, Code of Ham. § 127; Schorr, VAB. V 263, 14; Sumerian Code, JRAS. 1920, 501. And *abbutta*, *abbuta gullubu*, to shear the forehead, came to mean by convention, to shear away the slave's mark, to set him free, Schorr, *ibid.* 37, 12: Code of Ham. §§ 226, 227. Hence Martin's reading *am-ma-riṭ*, Aramaic מרט, pluck away hair, make bald, is certain. A phrase *muttutta marāṭu*, to make bald the forehead, to manumit a slave, probably existed. *abbuttu* then was confused with *abbuṭ-tu*, from *abāṭu*, to bind, a fetter. The Comm. II 32 actually explains *abbuttu* by *birîtu*, fetter. *abbuttu*, forehead, came to mean "mark on the forehead" hence slavery, bondage. *birîtu* is then employed to explain it in this sense.

2. At end gloss, *ri-e-mu*, mercy. (Comm. II 34.)

3. [ ]-*uš-kad-ru* = *su-ki ḳat-nu*, narrow street, l. 36.

4. For *mê kunnu*, to set forth water in a ritual, see IV R. 23 IV 1, *mê kunni šid-du šadādi*, To set forth water, to draw the curtains. *mê agubbî ša ana ili tu-kin-nu*, The water of the bowl which thou hast set forth for god, IV R. 25 Rev. III 2. *e-gu-u* is here taken for the participle.

5. *assukku* = *kirbannu*, lump, clod, Boissier, *Choix* 214 n. 561. For *kirbannu*, lump, and also mixture employed in incantations, see PBS. XII 21.

6. *aspu* is given in the Comm. II 41 as *aš-pu* = *uš-pu*; the root is *ašāpu*.

7. The text is similar to IV R. 59, No. 2, 20; *ina kiḫullê marṣiš nadaku*.

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . . . *-tum ka-ra* | . . . . . (44) |
| . . . . . NUN? | . . . . . (45) |
| . . . . . | . . . . . |

EBELING, KAR. Nos. 10 + 11[1]

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. [ina . . . . . ] *an-ni* | 1. . . . . |
| 2. [ina ]*-ni ú-ṣab-bit-an-ni* | 2. Out of . . . . . has he plucked me. |
| 3. [ina ]*-ni ú-pat*-tin-*an-ni* | 3. From . . . . he protected[2] me. |
| 4. [ina ]*-ni ú-bal-liṭ-an-ni* | 4. From . . . . . he caused me to live. |
| 5. [ina ]*-ti e-kim-an-ni* | 5. From . . . . . he removed me. |
| 6. [ina *ka-ra-* ]*-še-e it-?-an-ni* | 6. From the pit he . . . . . me. |
| 7. [*ana nār*] *Hu-bur iš-du-da-an-ni* | 7. To the river Hubur[3] he[4] conducted me, |
| 8. [$^{ilu}$*Mard*]*uk*[5] *ḳa-ti iṣ-bat* | 8. But Marduk took hold of my hand. |
| 9. [mi-šit-tu] . . . *im-ḫa ṣa-an-ni* | 9. [Sorrow] smote me, |
| 10. [$^{ilu}$*Marduk*] *ú-ša-ḳi ri-ši* | 10. But Marduk lifted up my head. |
| 11. *im-ḫa-aṣ rit-ti ma-ḫi-ṣi-ia* | 11. He smote the hand of my oppressor, |
| 12. *ú-lad-di*[6] *iṣu kakka-šu* $^{ilu}$*Marduk* | 12. Marduk broke his weapon. |
| 13. . . . . *gir-ri a-a-bi-ia* | 13. He . . . . . the way of my enemy. |
| 14. . . . . šam-ma $^{ilu}$*Marduk* | 14. Marduk . . . . . |
| 15. . . . . šat pî-i-ia | 15. . . . . *of my mouth.* |

1. In the publication of No. 10, Reverse is Obverse and vice versa. If this text really belongs to the poem *ludlul bêl nimeḳi*, it must be the reverse of the fourth tablet. Lines 1—15 are taken from the Obv. of KAR. No. 11.

2. Copy has *ti*. Cf. p. 52, l. 39.

3. The river of death which the souls of men must cross in the descent to Arallu.

4. I. e., a demon of disease.

5. Copy has *TI*.

6. For *ulatti*.

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . . . | . . . . . |
| . . . . . | . . . . . |
| 2. [*ilat*] *aš-na-an RU-* . . . . . | 2. Bread . . . . . [1] |
| 3. *tar-bit ḫa-šur-ri ṭâbi eli-šu* . . . | 3. The product of the sweet-smelling *hašurru* tree over him . . . . . |
| 4. *ki-ri-e-ti mar Bâbili-(ki)* . . . . | 4. The feasts of the Babylonians . . . . . |
| 5. *bit ki-bi-ri-šu e-pu-šu ina ki-ri-e-ti* [idbubu][2] | 5. "They had made a grave for him" *they* said at the festival. |
| 6. *i-mu-ru mar Bâbili-(ki) ki-i u-bal-la-ṭu-[šu]* | 6. The Babylonians saw how he restores him to life. |
| 7. *pa-a-tu kali-ši-na ú-ša-pa-a nar-bi-e-[šu]* | 7. All regions glorified his greatness. |
| 8. *man-nu-um-ma iḳ-bi a-mar an ú-pi-šu* | 8. "Who is there[3] who commanded to behold the state of his[4] glorification? |
| 9. *ina lib-bi man-ni ib-ba-ši e-te-iḳ sûli-šu* | 9. In whose mind is it possible to pass beyond his ways? |
| 10. *ša la* $^{ilu}$*Marduk man-nu mi-tu-ta-šu u-bal-liṭ* | 10. Who has given life unto him in his dying condition save Marduk? |
| 11. *e-la* $^{ilat}$*Zarbanit ilat Iš-tar-tum a-a-i-tum i-ki-ša nap-šat-su* | 11. Beside Zarbanit what goddess has bestowed upon him the breath of life? |
| 12. $^{ilu}$*Marduk ina gab-ri bul-lu-ṭa i-li-'i* | 12. Marduk is able to deliver unto life from the grave. |
| 13. $^{ilat}$*Zar-pa-ni-tum ina ka-ra-še--e e-ṭi-ra*[5] *am-rat* | 13. Zarpanit has sought to deliver from the pit." |

1. The text is continued after the break by KAR. No. 10 Obv.

2. Zimmern, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest*[2], p. 46, restores *ušbu*. The line refers to Tab. II R. 49.

3. I. e. except Marduk.

4. I. e. the Babylonian Job.

5. Cf. KAR. 67 Obv. 35.

| | |
|---|---|
| 14. *e-mašak-na-at irṣi-timrit-pa-šu šami-e* | 14. When the earth was created and the heavens were spread out, |
| 15. *ilu Šamšu uš-tap-pa-á ilu Gibil in-nap-ḫu* | 15. When the sun shone forth and fire flamed up, |
| 16. *mu-ú il-la-ku i-zi-ḳu ša-a-ru* | 16. When the waters flowed and the wind blew, |
| 17. *šu-ut ilat A-ru-ru iḳ-ru-ṣu ki-ri-is-si-in* | 17. As to them whose clay Aruru had pinched off,[1] |
| 18. *ša-ki-it-tu nap-ša-tu pi-ta-a pu-ri-du* | 18. The creation of the breath of life, them who open the limb in stride, |
| 19. [nap-ša]-*a-tum ma-la ba-ša-a ilu Marduk ub-la* | 19. Marduk brought the breath of life unto as many as there were. |
| 20. [ ]-*a-ta bul-*[*lu-ṭa*] *šu-tu-pa-a kun-*[*na*] | 20. To . . . . ., to give life, to send forth in glory, to establish, |
| 21. [*lib-ba-šu . . . . .* ] *ša nišê li-bil* | 21. [His heart . . . . .] the peoples — impelled him. |
| 22. . . . . *ri-'i kal da-*[*ad-me*] | 22. . . . . of all habitations |
| 23. . . . . *mêlê* . . . . . | 23. . . . . the floods . . . . . |
| . . . . . | . . . . . |

Reverse of KAR. 10 + 11.

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . . . | . . . . . |
| 1. [ša . . . . .] *e ina girri*[2] . . . . . | 1. He who . . . . from the *lion* . . . . |
| 2. [ina] *la-ban ap-pi ut-ni-ni ana E-sag-ila* [*e-rub*] | 2. With prostration and prayer *entered* into Esagila. |
| 3. [*a-na-ku ša at-tar*]-*ri-du kab-ri a-tu-ra ana Bābili* [*-ki*][3] | 3. I who descended into the grave have returned unto Babylon. |

1. On the various legends of Aruru who fashioned men from clay, see *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis* 20—39.

2. *UR-MAḪ?* Cf. Comm. II 38.

3. Zimmern reads apparently *bab bal-*[*ṭi*], "Gate of the living."

| | |
|---|---|
| 4. [*ina bāb*] *ḫegalli ḫegallu in-na-*[*din*]-an-ni | 4. In the "Gate of Plenty[1]" plenty was given unto me. |
| 5. [*ina*] *bāb lamassi-ra-bi*[2] *la-mas-si iṭ-ṭi-ḫa*-an-ni | 5. In the "Gate of the great Lamassu" my protecting genius came nigh unto me. |
| 6. *ina bāb salimi*[3] *šul-ma-na ap-pa-lis* | 6. In the "Gate of Peace," peace I saw. |
| 7. *ina bāb balāṭi*[4] *ba-la-ṭu am-ma-ḫi-ir* | 7. In the "Gate of Life," life was I given. |
| 8. *ina bāb ṣit* [iu]*Šamši*[5] *it-ti bal-ṭu-ti am-ma-ni* | 8. In the "Gate of Sun-rise" with the living ones was I counted. |
| 9. *ina bāb* itti namrati *id-da-tu-ú-a im-me-ra* | 9. In the "Gate of the Bright Omen"[6] were my omens clear. |
| 10. *ina bāb paṭār ʾilti ʾi-il-ti ip-pa-ṭir* | 10. In the "Gate of the Undoing of the Curse"[7] was my curse undone. |
| 11. *ina bāb ša'āl pî iš-ta-la pi-ia* | 11. In the "Gate of the Inquiry of the Mouth"[8] did my mouth inquire. |

1. One of the gates of the outer court of Esagila, VAB. IV 210, 23; Scheil, *Esagila ou le Temple de Bêl-Marduk*, p. 15, 13.

2. Cf. VAB. IV 210, 23; Scheil, *ibid.* 15, 12; Streck, *Asurbanipal* II 410.

3. A chapel of Ishtar in Esagila, called *kabatti Anšar*, where Ishtar is the goddess *bêlit tašmê u salime*, mistress of propitiousness and peace, KAR. 109, 14.

4. *Ká-nam-ti-la*, occurs here for the first time. The chapel *É-namtila* in Ekur of Nippur, dedicated to Enlil cannot be intended; a chapel of Ishtar in Babylon was also named É-namtila, KAR. 109, 18.

5. One of the gates of the court of Esagila, VAB. IV 210, 23; Scheil, *Esagila* 15, 12.

6. *Ká-u-di-bàr-ra*, one of the gates of Esagila; usually without *bàr-ra*. This passage apparently indicates the meaning *ittu* for *u-di*. See also Scheil, *ibid.* 11, 13; VAB. IV 210, 23.

7. Probably the name of a chapel.

8. *Ká ka-tar-ra; ka-ʾar-ra* is usually rendered by *dullu*, religious service. The literal translation is given by this line, to beseech, to ask the gods in prayer. The phrase refers to the recitation of penitential psalms.

| | |
|---|---|
| 12. *ina bāb paṭār tâniḫi up-ta-ṭa-ra ta-ni-ḫi* | 12. At the "Gate of the Release from Lamentation"[1] was my lamentation allayed.[2] |
| 13. *ina bāb mê telilti*[3] *me-e te-lil-te as-sa-li-iḫ* | 13. In the "Gate of the Waters of Cleansing" I was sprinkled with the waters of cleansing. |
| 14. *ina bāb salımi it-ti* $^{iiu}$*Marduk an-na-mir* | 14. In the "Gate of Peace" did I appear beside Marduk.[4] |
| 15. *ina ḫāb alāḫ kuzbi*[5] *še-ip*[6] $^{ilat}$*Zar-pa-ni-tum an-na-šiḳ* | 15. In the "Gate of the fulness of abundance" I have kissed the foot of Zarpanit. |
| 16. *ina*[7] *su-pi-e ù te-me-ki ma-ḫar-šu-nu ú-dan-nin* | 16. In petition and imploration was I insistent before them. |
| 17. *ḳut-rin-na ṭa-bu-ú-ti ma-ḫar-šu-nu u-ša-aṣ-li* | 17. I have placed sweet incense before them. |
| 18. *u-šam-ḫir ir-ba da-'-ti di-e-ta* AN-GUB-te | 18. I caused them to receive income, *gifts*, and things necessary to *intercession*. |
| 19. *ú-pal-liḳ li-e ma-ri-e uṭ-ṭab-bi-iḫ* šab-di | 19. I have slain a fat ox, I have slaughtered a . . . . . |
| 20. *at-ta-naḳ-*[*ḳi*] *ku-ru-un-na du-uš-šu-ba*[8] *karana* labira (?) | 20. I have libated sesame wine, mead and old wine.[9] |

1. *Ká a-še-ir-du-ù-da.*

2. Here the scribe has erroneously drawn a line across the tablet. The section however, does not end until line 15.

3. *Ká a-sikil-la.* Here begins Var. KAR. 11 R. 1.

4. Cf. p. 15, l. 20.

5. *Ká dug-li-sug,* chapel of Zarbanit in Esagila, VAB. IV 304. For the Semitic rendering see KAR. 109, 15, "In K. Ishtar *kuzba ulluḫat.*

6. Var *GIŠ*-dual.

7. Var. *a-na.*

8. Var. *daššubu.*

9. Cf. CT. 10, 28 I 8.

| | |
|---|---|
| 21. *as-si* (?) *šêdu* $^{ilu}$ *AN-GUB-BA-Pl.*[1] *li-bit-(te) É-sag-ila* | 21. I *appealed* unto the protecting geniuses the divine guardians of the brick walls of Esagila. |
| 22. [*i-na*] *tam-ḳi-ti*[2] *ka-bat-ta-šu-un uš-pir-di* | 22. With drink offerings I caused their minds to be glad. |
| 23. [ina sa-at-tu-ki-]*e di-eš-šu-ti lib-ba-šu-un ú-ḫa-di* | 23. With plentiful fixed offerings I rejoiced their heart. |
| 24. [*sip-pu ši*]-*ga-ri me-di-il* $^{iṣu}$ *dalāti* | 24. *Threshold,* bolt, lock and doors[3] |
| 25. [udaḫḫid šamna] *el-la ḫi-ma-tu* . . . . . *aš-ṣa-an* | 25. With pure oil, fat and the . . . . of grain I laved. |
| 26. . . . . še da-mi-e *parṣi biti* | 26. . . . . the ritualistic rules of the temple. |

1. See JRAS. 1920, 569 n. 5.
2. Cf. Tab. II 12.
3. Cf. VAB. IV 258, 13.

# THE BABYLONIAN DIALOGUE OF PESSIMISM

The argument of this work is cast in the form of a dialogue between a master and a servant or slave. From §§ I and J where the master speaks of "his land," it would be admissible to suppose that he was a ruler or a king, but the other sections describe him simply as an influential and wealthy person. One of the variants persistently writes his title in the first line of each paragraph *ilu EN*, i. e., *ilu Bêl*, but otherwise *be-li*, my lord. Since this version comes from Babylonia and represents the older version,[1] the writing must convey some special sense which remains obscure. The current scepticism of the age is represented in the replies of the servant, and there is no parallel to this literary form in Babylonian literature, or elsewhere. The title *ilu Bêl*, "divine lord" suggests the period of emperor-worship and induces one to suppose that the dialogue is based upon an original of the period the 25th to 22nd centuries, and at first contained a dialogue between a king and a sage among his subjects. If this supposition be correct there would be some similarity to the Egyptian didactic poems of the *Eloquent Peasant*[2] and *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*,[3] who addressed the king with long admonitions and frank criticism. When the dialogue reached its present form in the 9th century and was made to apply to men in general, the royal character may have been replaced by that of an influential citizen, but the old title in the conventional phrase of the first line was retained.

1. The Assur text is certainly based upon a Babylonian original. Note § J, where Marduk is mentioned. This is the only reference to any deity in the Dialogue.

2. A complaint of a peasant to a high official concerning his unjust treatment, Vogelsang and Gardiner, *The Eloquent Peasant.*

3. A. H. Gardiner, *The admonitions of an Egyptian sage.*

The theme of the dialogue in its present form is one of complete pessimism and despair. This point of view is logically maintained. In Hebrew literature the Book of Ecclesiastes offers a close parallel, but the Hebrew poet is not so consistently gloomy. The illustrations employed by the Babylonian poet to unfold his argument are often very similar to those of Ecclesiastes. That the cycle of Babylonian wisdom literature to which the dialogue belongs influenced Hebrew thought in Post-Exilic times and especially the author of Ecclesiastes may no longer be doubted.

The text of the Dialogue is now represented by three tablets. The major tablet VAT. 9933 was excavated at Assur and published by Dr. Erich Ebeling in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* no. 96. A few lines at the end of the Obverse containing the end of § E and § F are restored from a duplicate. The tablet contained, therefore, six paragraphs on the Obverse. In the break at the top of the Reverse four lines are restored from a duplicate. Thus the entire tablet containing eleven paragraphs and 93 lines is completed.

A Neo-Babylonian[1] duplicate, VAT. 367 was published 25 years ago by Reisner in *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, p. 143. The fragment represents the lower half of the Obverse and upper half of the Reverse. The order of the paragraphs differs from that of the Assur tablet. Here § E on the futility of rebellion follows § H on the uselessness of sacrifice. A new copy of VAT. 657 is given by Ebeling at the end of his *Quellen zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion*, pt. 2, in which he gave the first edition (pp. 50—70) of this Dialogue. A small fragment K. 10523 containing the beginnings of lines for §§ B, C, D, is published by Ebeling, *Quellen*, pt. 2, Pl. III. After Ebeling these texts are referred to as follows:

VAT. 9933 = A.
VAT. 367[2] = B.
K. 10523 = C.

1. From the script of VAT. 367 it is possible to make out a case for assigning it to the age of Hammurabi, but the occurrence of the ideogram *ŠE-BAR* for *še'urtu* in Rev. 13 excludes this supposition. Ebeling assigns the tablet to the Seleucid period.

2. So Reisner, but Ebeling gives 657.

My text is artificially made up by utilizing all the variants, and consequently I have not given a separate transcription of B. The order of the sections based on A is as follows:

1. § A. The folly of seeking favor at court.
2. § B. There is no advantage in dining.
3. § C. Vain is the excitement of a nomad's life.
4. § D. The futility of revenge. (Obscure and uncertain.)
5. § E. The danger of rebellion.
6. § F. There is no advantage in forgiving and forbearance.
7. § G. Love of women brings calamity.[1]
8. § H. There is no utility in sacrifice and orthodox rituals.
9. § I. Charitable lending is not appreciated, but requited with treachery.
10. § J. A benefactor and a malefactor obtain the same rewards.
11. § K. Death is preferable to life.

§ A.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. [*ardu mi-tan-gur-an-ni*] *an-nu-u be-lí an-*[*nu-u*] | 1. "Oh servant hearken unto me." Yes, my lord, yes. |
| 2. [*ši-šir*[2] *di-kan-ni-ma* $^{iṣu}$*narkab*] *-ta ṣi-in-dam ana ekalli lu-un-šur* | 2. "Hasten, summon me the chariot,[3] and hitch it up; to the palace I will drive." |
| 3. [*mu-šur be-lí mu-šur* šarru ...] *ú-mar-ka-ma i-ba-aš-šu-ka* | 3. Drive quickly, my lord, drive quickly, the *king* . . . . . will give thee[4] and they shall be thine. |
| 4. [ ]*ub-ba-la pa-ni-ka* | 4. He will . . . . . thee and pardon[5] thee. |

1. The *Babylonian Book of Proverbs* condemns association with harlots, PSBA. 1916, 114 § K. So also do the Egyptian books of wisdom. See *Proverbs of Ani* and *Proverbs of Ptah-hotep*, Gressmann, *Texte und Bilder* 201 and 203 (translated by Ranke).

2. K. 10523,10 *ši-šir-ma*.

3. Written [*nar-kab-t*]*a*, and restored from line 18, below.

4. For *ma'āru* in this sense, see *Shurpu* II 78.

5. For *abālu*, *babālu*, with *panu*, see Ungnad, ZA. 17, 358. The phrase occurs in AJSL. 31, 82, 21 *panu-šunu ul ibbabalu*, they shall not be pardoned. See also *ibid.* 81, 12 and *ublim pani-ia*, pardon me, SBP. 258, 8.

| | |
|---|---|
| 5. [*e ardu a-na-ku ana*] *ekalli-ma ul a-maš-šar* | 5. "Nay, Oh servant, I unto the palace will not drive." |
| 6. [*la ta-maš-šar be-*] *lí la ta-maš-šar* | 6. Drive not, my lord, drive not. |
| 7. [ana ašri la te]-*bu-ú i-šap-pár-ka* | 7. *Unto a place whence one cometh not up* he will send thee. |
| 8. [ina māti ša la] *ti-du-ú ú-ša-aṣ-bat-ka* | 8. *In a land which* thou knowest not he will let thee be seized.[1] |
| 9. [*ur-ra u*] *mu-ši mar-ṣa-ta u-kal-lam-ka* | 9. Day and night will he cause thee to see misery.[2] |

§ B.

| | |
|---|---|
| 10. *ardu*[3] [*mi-tan-gur*]-*an-ni an-nu-u be-lí an-nu-u* | 10. "Oh servant hearken unto me." Yes, my lord, yes. |
| 11. *ši-*[*šir di-kan*]-*ni-ma mê ana ḳatê-ia bi-nam-ma lu-up-tu-un* | 11. "Hasten, order me water for my hands, give it me and I will dine." |
| 12. *pu-*[*tu-*]*un be-lí pu-tu-un sa-ḫi-ru pa-ta-nu pi-te-e lib-bi* | 12. Dine, my lord, dine, to dine repeatedly is the opening of the heart. |
| 13. it-[ti pa-tin] *pat-ni ina ḫu-ud* lib-bi[4] *u ḳatê mi-sa-a-ti il-lak* $^{ilu}$ *Šamaš* | 13. *With*[5] *him* that dines in happiness and with washed hands will Shamash walk. |
| 14. *e*[*ardu*]*a-na-ku pa-ta-nu-u-um-ma ul a-pa-tan* | 14. "Nay, Oh servant, I will not partake of the feast."[6] |
| 15. *la ta-pa-tan be-lí la ta-pa-tan* | 15. Not shalt thou dine, my lord, not shalt thou dine. |

1. The restorations in lines 7—8 are suggested by the Assyrian Law Code, Schroeder, KAV. No. 1 Rev. I 4 f.

2. For *marṣatu,* see Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon* 591, and cf. perhaps, SBP. 264, 1.

3. K. 10523, 1.

4. Text uncertain. So Ebeling restores.

5. Uncertain. For *patānu patni,* cf. *kasāpu kusapu,* to break bread, *Bab.* VI 214, and 206 n. 1.

6. *patanû patānu* is parallel to *kasapû kasāpu, Bab.* VI 214, note.

| | |
|---|---|
| 16. *bur-ru-u a-ka-lu ṣu-um-mu-ú ša-tu-ú eli ameli il-lak* | 16. Fasting and eating, thirsting and drinking go over man.[1] |

§ C.

| | |
|---|---|
| 17. *ardu mi-tan-gur-an-ni an-nu-u be-lí an-nu-u* | 17. "Oh servant hearken unto me." Yes, my lord, yes. |
| 18. *ši-šir di-kan-ni-ma iṣunarkabta ṣi-in-dam-ma ana ṣêri lu-un-šur* | 18. "Hasten, summon me the chariot and hitch it up to the plain will I drive." |
| 19. *mu-šur be-lí mu-šur ša ameli*[2] *mut-tap-raš-ši-di ma-li kar-as-su* | 19. Drive, my lord, drive. Of the man who is a fugitive, full is his camp.[3] |
| 20. *kalbu da-i̯ā-lu*[4] *eṣimta i-ḫi-ip-pi* | 20. The hunting dog will break the bones. |
| 21. [*ḫa-ḫu-r*]*u*[5] *mut-tap-raš-ši-di i-ḳa-an-nun ḳin-na-*[*šu*] | 21. The fleeing *hahur* bird will find its nest. |
| 22. . . . . .[6] *ak-kan-nu*[7] *mur-tap-pi-du i-me-*? . . . . . | 22. . . . . the fleet wild ass will . . . . . |
| 23. *e ardu a-na-ku a-na ṣêri-ma ul a-*[*maš-šar*][8] | 23. "Nay, Oh servant, unto the plain will I not drive." |

1. I. e., weigh him down, harass him? That is the view taken of this troublesome passage by Ebeling, *Quellen*, p. 56. Bezold in his article *Babylonisch-Assyrisch alāku*, gehen, renders the line, "Starving and eating, thirsting and drinking come upon everyone" (naturally), *ibid.* p. 26. But there is no point in the view conveyed by Bezold's translation. The sense appears to be that both eating and hunger bring suffering. Banqueting is followed by physical pain and satiety destroys the pleasure of eating. Both hunger and eating "come upon man," i. e., whether he eats or fasts he will find pain. There is no pleasure provided for man even in banqueting. "A little is sufficient for a man of understanding," *Sirach* 31, 19 in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* I 421.

2. K. 10523 begins a new line with *ša a-me-li*.

3. Uncertain. Ebeling understands the line to refer to hunting for nomads who descended upon cities and fled with pillage.

4. Cf. *daialatu*, hunting, chase, Scheil, *Tukulti-Ninib*, Obv. 80.

5. Restored from line 27. For *ḫaḫuru*, see beside SAI. 150, *ḫa-aḫ-ḫu-ru* in CT. 15, 38, 2; in any case a bird of prey *ḫaḫḫuratu* in omens, DA. 260, 11, *Bab.* I 27, 72—75.

6. On K. 10523, no word missing.

7. An unpublished text, Ni. 11303 has *anšu-nitagˀ-áš-du* = *agannu*.

8. Restored from l. 5.

| | |
|---|---|
| 24. *la ta-maš-šar be-lí la* [*ta-maš*] *-šar* | 24. Drive not, my lord, drive not. |
| 25. *ša ameli mut-tap-raš-ši-di ṭe-en-šu* [*iš*]*-ta-ni-šu* | 25. Of the man who is a fugitive, fleeting is his plan. |
| 26. *ša kalbi da-ḫā-lu i-šab-bi-*ru [*šin*]*-ni-šu* | 26. Of the hunting dog they will break his teeth.[1] |
| 27. *ša ḫa-ḫu-ru mut-tap-raš-ši-di i-na* [*ḫur-ri*] *dûri bit-su* | 27. Of the fleeing *hahur* bird, in the cranny of the wall is its house. |
| 28. *ù ša ak-kan-nu mur-tap-pi-du na-mu-ú* šu (?)*-ba-su* | 28. And of the fleet wild ass, the wilderness is his dwelling place. |
| § D. | |
| 29. *ardu mi-tan* [*-gur-an-ni an-nu-u be-lí an-nu-u*] | 29. "Oh servant hearken unto me." Yes, my lord, yes. |
| 30. *lu-ub-ni*[2] [*bīta bi-ni be-lí bi-ni*] | 30. "I will build a house." Build, my lord, build. |
| 31. *ri-ši* [ ]*a? ri-tu pi-*ti*-tum šum-šu* | 31. Obtain . . . . . |
| 32. . . . . *ḳa-ḫā-lu lim-ni šuk-lil-li* | 32. The . . . . . of the evil tyrant,[3] make complete. |
| 33. [aibi[4]] *lu-uk-mu-ma lu-ku-uš-ma lu-ṣil-ma* | 33. "Mine enemy will I bind and quickly enchain. |
| 34. [*a-n*]*a pa-an be-el da-ba-bi-ḫa lud-gul* | 34. I will wait for mine adversary." |
| 35. [*be-*]*lum du-gul be-lí du-gul* | 35. Yea, wait Oh lord, yea wait my lord. |

1. *šinni*, dual, for *šinnê* (?).

2. K. 10523.

3. For *ḳaialu* see also Scheil, *Lois Assyriennes*, p. 45, 105. Ebeling places another construction on the line, regarding *ḳaiālu* as Inf. of a verb "to be silent". He translates "The silence of the wicked make complete." *šuklilli*, as an imperative, is a difficult form and there is no obvious reason for the feminine gender. The signs might be read *ši-ni-pat lil-li*, which makes no sense.

4. So Ebeling. The meaning of the entire line is uncertain.

| | |
|---|---|
| 36. *ki-e ki-e lu-pu-uš bīta. bīta e te-pu-uš* | 36. "Yea, yea, I will make a house." A house shalt thou not make. |
| 37. *a-lik i-nanna*[1] *bit abi-šù iḫ-te-pi* | 37. He that conducteth himself thus destroyeth the house of his father. |

The literary form of this paragraph differs from the style adopted in the other sections. From the references to building a house one is led to suppose that the theme of this paragraph is the futility of constructing a residence. But the argument here does not appear to be based upon pessimism but teaches the futility of animosity against ones enemies. The connection between constructing a house and securing advantage over adversaries is not obvious and the fragmentary nature of the text renders the interpretation doubly uncertain. Ebeling seems to regard the text of this section on VAT. 9933 as largely independent of the text on the variant K. 10,523. He reconstructs a new paragraph from the last two lines on VAT. 9933 and the beginnings of the first three lines of this section on K. 10,523 (ll. 21—23), supposing that the end of the paragraph on VAT. 9923 is lost. On this supposition it is possible to construct a section on the futility of acquiring a house. But it is a violent reconstruction of the text and apparently not defensible.

§ E.

| | |
|---|---|
| 38. *ardu mi-tan-gur-an-ni*[2] *an-nu-u be-lí*[3] *an-nu-u* | 38. "O servant hearken unto me." Yes, my lord, yes: |
| 39. *um-ma*[4] *sa-ar-tu*[5] *li*[6]*-pu-uš ki--mi*[7] *e-pu-uš be-li* [*e-pu-uš*] | 39. Saying, "I will institute rebellion." So do my lord, so do. |

1. For *AN-SEŠ-KI* with value *nanna*, see CT. 11, 49, 4 — Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 25, 16 *innanna*. For the reading of this name of the moon-god as *nanna*, see also Ungnad, ZA. 22, 11 n. 1, and CT. 29, 46, 26.
2. Var. B., Rev. 1, *mu-un-tan-gir-an-ni*.
3. Var. B, $^{\text{il}}$*Bêl*.
4. Var. omits.
5. Var. *sar-tū*.
6. Var. *lu*.
7. Var. *ki*-[*e*]. For *ki-e*, see above, l. 36.

| | |
|---|---|
| 40. *ša*[1] *sa-ar-tu*[2] *la te*-ip-*šu*[3] *mi--nu-u ḫi-id ku-*[*ma*][4] | 40. If thou institutest not rebellion, what *happiness* is thine? |
| 41. [*man-*]*nu i-nam-dak-ka-ma*[5] *tu*[6]*-mal-la-a kar-as-*[*ka*] | 41. Who will give to thee that thou fillest thy stomach? |
| 42. [*e ardu*] *a-na-ku sa-aṙ-tu*[7] [*ul e-pu-uš*] | 42. "Nay, O servant, rebellion will I not institute." |
| 43. [*la te-pu-uš be-lí la te-pu-uš*] | 43. [Do it not, my lord, do it not.][8] |
| 44. *a-me-lu šá sar-tū i-pu-uš šum--ma di-i-ku šum-ma ?-ṣi* | 44. The man who institutes rebellion, he is slain or he is . . . . . |
| 45. *šum-ma nu-up-pu-lu*[9] *šum-ma ṣa-bit šum-ma* | 45. Or he is blinded, or seized, or |
| 46. *i-na kil-lu na-di* | 46. Thrown into prison. |

Text of § E from VAT. 9933, Obv. 38 ff. and VAT. 367 Rev. 1—8.

§ F.

| | |
|---|---|
| 47. [*ardu mu-un-tan-gir-an-ni an--nu-u* $^{ilu}$ *bêl an-nu-u*] | "Oh servant hearken unto me." Yes, Oh lord, yes. |
| 48. *a-na* [amat bêl dîni-ia a-sak--kut] | "At the [*words of mine accuser will I remain silent.*]" |
| 49. *su-kut be-li su-*[*kut . . . . .*][10] | Be silent, my lord, be silent . . . . . |
| 50. *e ardu a-na-ku ana* [amat bêl dîni-ia *ul a-sak-kut*] | "Nay, O servant, at [*the words of mine accuser* will I not keep silence.]" |

1. Var. omits.
2. Var. *sar-tū-ma*.
3. Var. *te-ip-pu-uš*.
4. Var. *ri-iḳ-ḳa* [*ḫi-id-ka*?], Empty is thy happiness. Ebeling read *ṭi-iṭ-ku-nu* "Your clay," as synonym for "your corpse."
5. Var. *i-nam-din-nak-ma*.
6. Var. *ta*.
7. Var. *sar-ta-am-ma*.
8. This line is omitted on Var. B. From this point the text is taken from VAT. 367, Rev. 6—8.
9. Cf. *napālu ša îni*, Syn. *nasāḫu ša îni*, CT. 12, 11, 7.
10. Ebeling restores *sakātu eli dabābi ṭâbu*, "Silence is better than pleading."

| | |
|---|---|
| 51. *la ta-sak-kut be-lí* [*la ta-sak-kut*] | Keep not silence, my lord [keep not silence]. |
| 52. *pi-i-ka ūl te-ip-pu-*[*uš . . . .*] | If thou speakest not with thy mouth . . . . . |
| 53. *be-lu di-ni-ka uz-za-zu ina eli-ka . . . .* | Thine accusers will rage against thee . . . . . |

Paragraph F is taken from VAT. 367, Obv. 1—6, and the section is placed here on the supposition that it existed in the break at the end of VAT. 9933 Obverse.

§ G.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. *ardu mu-un-tan-gir-an-ni an-nu-ú* $^{ilu}$*bêl an-nu-u* | "O servant, hearken unto me." Yes, Oh lord, yes. |
| 2. *sinništam lu-ra-mu ki-mi*[1] *ra-mu be-lu ra-mu* | "I will love a woman." So love, Oh lord, so love. |
| 3. *a-me-lu ša sinnistam i-ra-mu ku-u-ri u daliḫta*[2] *i-me-šu* | The man who loves a woman forgets woe and misery. |
| 4. *e ardu a-na-ku sinništa-am-ma ul a-ra-mu* | "Nay, Oh servant, a woman will I not love." |
| 5. [*la ta-ra-am*] *be-lí la* [*ta-ra-am*][3] | Not shalt thou love, my lord, not shalt thou love. |
| 6. *sinništu bur-tū*[4] *šu-ut-ta-tum*[4] *ḫi-ri-tum* | A woman is a pit, a slough, a pitfall. |
| 7. *sinništu paṭ-ri parzilli še-e-lu*[5] | A woman is a sharp iron sword |

1. Cf. § E, l. 39.

2. *SAG-GÚG.* This ideogram has not been found and the similar ideogram, *SAG-PA-KIL* = *nizzatu*, suggests itself. See Br. 3602; Boissier, DA. 101, 23; Craig, RT. II 3, 18. But Reisner and Ebeling offer the reading *gúg.*

3. Line 1 on VAT. 9933, Reverse. The line is omitted on Var. B.

4. Text A has *tu.*

5. *šêlu*, sharp. The verb *šêlu*, be sharp, is the cognate of Arabic *saḥala*, to scale, flay, file away, hence *miṣḥalun*, a file. Cf. Tig. I 37, *ša* $^{ilu}$*Ašur kakkê-šu u-ša-ḫi-lu*, "He whose weapons Ašur sharpened." *še-e-lu ša kakki*, CT. 18, 40, 15. For the adjective *šêlu*, cf. *ulmê še-lu-u-ti*, the sharp weapons, Streck, *Assurbanipal* II 260, 17. *šeltu*, blade, pl. *šêlāti*, Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon* 99; 393. *šêlûtu*, sharpness, KB. I 164, 42 and Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon* 18.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ša ta-na-ki-su*[1] *ki-šad*[2] *iṭli* | which cutteth the neck of a man. |

The text of § G is taken from VAT. 367 Obv. 7—12 with variants from VAT. 9933 Rev. 1—3.

§ H.

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. *ardu mi-tan-gur*[3]*-an-ni an-nu-u be-lí*[4] *an-nu-u* | "O servant hearken unto me." Yes, my lord, yes. |
| 9. *ši-šir di-kan-ni-ma*[5] *mê ana ḳatê-ia*[6] *bi-nam-ma nikî*[7] *ana ili-ia lu-pu-uš* | "Hasten, order me water for my hands, give it me and I will make sacrifice unto my god." |
| 10. *e-pu-uš be-lí e-pu-uš amelu ša nikâ ana ili-šu ip-pu-uš libba-šu ṭâb*[8] | Do it, my lord, do it. The man that maketh sacrifice unto his god — glad is his heart. |
| 11. *kip-tu*[9] *eli*[10] *kip-tu*[9] *ip-pu-uš* | Loan upon loan he maketh. |
| 12. *e ardu a-na-ku nikâ ana ili-ia-a-ma*[11] *ul ep-pu-uš* | "Nay, O servant, sacrifice unto my god will I not make." |
| 13. *la te-pu-uš be-lí ta te-pu-uš* | Do it not my lord, do it not. |
| 14. *ila tu-lam-mad-su-ma ki-i kal-bi arki-ka it-ta-na-lak*[12] | Wilt thou teach god that he walk after thee like a dog? |

1. Var A, *ik-ki-su.*
2. Var. A, *ki šad.*
3. Var. B, *mu-un-tan-gir.*
4. Var. *ilubêl.*
5. Cf. § A 2; B 11; C 18.
6. Var. B, *ḳa-ti-ia*, and *i bi-nam-ma.* For *i* with the imperative, cf. *i ṣa-a, i ṣi-i*, Come up. Delitzsch, H. W. 47; Ylvisaker, LSS. V[6], 47; *i riddanni*, come down unto me, KB. VI 188, 29; *i tirru-mi*, restore to us, Knudtzon, *Amarna*, Letters, p. 586, 138; *i ba-in*, give, AJSL. 32, 270, no. 2, 12 and *i ba-in-šu = ba-iš-su, ibid.* no. 5.
7. Var. *ni-ḳa-a.*
8. Var. *ṭa-ab.*
9. Var. *ki-ip-tu = ḳiptu*
10. Var. *ana eli.*
11. Var. omits *a-ma.*
12. The Var. B omits line 14 and begins l. 15 in the middle of VAT. 367, Obv. 19. It appears to have [*la te-pu-uš šum-ma par-ṣi*] *šum-ma mim-ma šum-ma* [*la ta-šal šum-ma ta-šal*].

| | |
|---|---|
| 15. *šùm*[1]*-ma par-ṣi šùm-ma la ta-* | Be it ritual orders, be it that thou |
| *-šal šùm-ma mim-ma ša-nam-* | seekest not (by divination), |
| *-ma ir-riš-ka* | be it that he demands some- |
| | thing else from thee. |

The argument is that it is useless to make sacrifices to god, for it presupposes god's dependence upon man's service in the cult. God does not run after man seeking favor like a dog. Sacrifice avails nothing although it is ordered by the rules of the Babylonian religion, and required by orthodox rules even without consultation of god's will by omens. The poet goes beyond his argument in the final phrase. Whatever the orthodox religion prescribes as god's due from man, the requirement is futile, for god is absolutely independent of any thing which man may do. The pessimistic section of the Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer also denies the efficacy of sacrifice (Tab. II, Obv. 24), and asserts the futility of trying to please the gods (*ibid.* ll. 34—35). But he is more orthodox than the poet of the Dialogue of Pessimism, for there the doctrine of God's ways that pass all understanding is defended, and the scepticism of the age concerning observance of religious duties is answered by an assertion of faith in ritual and prayer as the only escape from pain and the means of attaining peace.

§ I.

| | |
|---|---|
| 16. [*ardu mi-tan-*]*gur-an-ni an-nu-* | "O servant, hearken unto me." |
| *-u be-lí an-nu-u* | Yes, my lord, yes. |
| 17. [*um-ma*[2] *epram*[3] *ana māti-*]*nu*[4] | Saying, "Food unto our land will |

1. Written *til* = *šumma*. The Sumerian *til*, "completed" (suppose a situation has arisen), is the precise equivalent of the Semitic *šumma*. See *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 165. The peculiar construction of conditional clauses in Assyrian with *šumma*, which is ordinarily followed by the indicative preterite, is derived from Sumerian syntax. The Var. has *šum-ma*.

2. So on var. B, but probably omitted on A. See § E, l. 39.

3. *ŠE-BA*.

4. Var. *mati-i*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *lut-ti*[1] *ki-mi*[2] *it-ti*[3] *be-lí it-ti*[3] | I give." So give my lord, so give. |
| 18. [*amelu ša epram ana māti(ti)-šu i-*]*nam-di-nu*[4] *še'urat-su še'urat*[5]*-su-ma ḫu-bul-lu-šu at-ri* | The man who gives food unto his land — his barley is his revenue and abundant is his interest.[6] |
| 19. [*e ardu a-na-ku na-*]*ta-nam-ma*[7] *ul a-nam-din* | "Nay, O servant, giving will I not give." |
| 20. [*la ta-nam-din*[8] *be-lí*] *la ta-nam-din*[9] *na-da-nu ki-i ra-a-*[*mi?*] | Give not my lord, give not. Giving is like *loving,*[10] |
| 21. [*ḫu-bul-lu ki-i*] *a-la-di ma-ru* | *And interest is like* the begetting of a son. |
| 22. [*ḫubulli še'urti-ka u-maṭ-ṭu ana*] *ka-a-ša it-ta-nam-za-*[*ru-ka* | The interest on thy barley they will lessen for thee and they will curse thee. |
| 23. [*ik-ka-lu*] *še'urta-ka u-ḫal-la-ḳu-nik-*[*ka*] | They will eat thy barley and they will destroy thee. |

The text of § I is based upon VAT. 9933, Rev. 12—19 with restorations from VAT. 367, Rev. 9—14. From line 20 above after the second *tanamdin* the text of B reads, *še'urta-ka ik-kal*[11] *ḫubulli še'urti-ka u-maṭ-ṭu ana ka-a-šu ana muḫ-ḫi it-ta-na-za-ru-ka.*

§ J.

| | |
|---|---|
| 24. *ardu mi-tam-gur-am-ni an-nu-u be-lí an-nu-u* | "Oh servant, hearken unto me." Yes, my lord, yes. |

1. Sic! for *luttin.* Var. *lu-ú-din.*
2. Var. *ki.*
3. Sic! for *itin.*
4. Var. *din.*
5. *ŠE-BANDA*, both barley and tax or impost, revenue in barley.
6. Var. B has *še'urat-su ŠE-BANDA at-ri,* where *ŠE-BANDA* tax, revenue seems to stand for *ḫubullu*, interest, revenue.
7. Var. *epram ana mati-i.*
8. Var. *ta-di-in.*
9. Var. ditto mark.
10. Cf. § H.
11. Sic! Singular but the other verbs are plural in this sentence.

| | |
|---|---|
| 25. *ûm-ma*[1] *ú-sa-tū ana māti-ia lu-pu-uš ki-mi*[1] *epu-uš be-lí epu-uš* | Saying, "A benefit unto my land I will do." So do, my lord, so do. |
| 26. *amelu ša ú-sa-tū ana māti-šu ip-pu-uš* | The man who doeth a benefaction unto his land |
| 27. *šak-na ú-sa-tu-šu ina kappati*[2] *ša* $^{ilu}$*Marduk* | Findeth benefaction in the *bowl* (?) of Marduk.[3] |
| 28. *e ardu a-na-ku ú-[sa]-tam-ma ana māti-ia ul ep-pu-uš* | "Nay, Oh servant, a benefaction unto my land I will not do." |
| 29. *la te-pu-uš be-lí la te-pu-uš* | Do it not my lord, do it not. |
| 30. *i-li-ma ina eli tîlāni lābirûti*[4] *i-tal-lak* | Ascend thou unto the ruins of cities, go to those of old; |
| 31. *a-mur gul-gul-li-e ša arkûti u pa-nu-u-ti* | Behold the skulls of the later and the former ones; |
| 32. *ia-a-u be-el li-mut-tim-ma ia-a-u be-el ú-sa-ti* | Who is now an evil doer, who is now a benefactor?[5] |

The text of § J is based upon VAT. 9933 Rev. 20—28, with variants from VAT. 367 Rev. 15—20.

1. Var. omits.

2. *GI-GAM-MA*, Var. *gap-pat.*

3. The bowl of Marduk is explained by Ebeling as a reference to an earthen jar in which the gods guarded the tablets of men's deeds. There are references to a "tablet of sins," *tuppi arni ḫiṭāti ḳillati tumāti*, Shurpu, IV 58; cf. *Poem of the Righteous Sufferer* III 48. The "tablets of fate" referred to by Ebeling and discussed by Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 20, may refer to something different than records of the fates of men. It may possibly be inferred from VAB. IV 126, 54—65, that the fates of men were written on tablets, but there is no clear evidence for such a belief. *kippatu* also means the ring or circle held in the hand of a god and this may be the meaning of the word here. See for the "circle" of Marduk, Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens* 144, 415.

4. Written *ù-ra-meš.*

5. Lines 37—39 contain the most powerful expression of pessimism in Babylonian literature. The good and the bad among the ancients lie beneath the ruins of their cities and their deeds are forgotten. For them the present generation retains no sentiment of honour or dishonour. They are now all alike in the land of no return. Cf. Ecclesiastes 1, 11; 2, 14; 2, 16.

The argument in this section is similar to that of Ecclesiastes 6, 2. "There is one hope for the righteous and the wicked, for the good and the pure, and for the unclean, for him that sacrifices and for him that sacrifices not. As with the good so with the sinner; he that sweareth vainly is as he that feareth the oath."

§ K.

| | |
|---|---|
| 33. *ardu mi-tan-gur-an-ni an-nu-u be-lí an-nu-u* | "Oh servant, hearken unto me." Yes, my lord, yes. |
| 34. *e-nin-na mi-nu-ú ṭa-a-ba* | "Now then what is good?" |
| 35. *ti-ik-ki ti-ik-ka-ka še-bi-ir* | To break my neck and thy neck, |
| 36. *a-na nâri na-ša-ku ṭa-a-ba* | To fall into the river is good. |
| 37. *i̯ā-ú ar-ku ša a-na šami-e e-lu-u* | Who is long enough to ascend unto heaven? |
| 38. *i̯ā-ú rap-šu ša irṣi-tim ú-gam--me-ru* | Who is vast enough to complete the earth? |
| 39. *e ardu a-dak-ka-ma pa-na-tū-u-a u-šal-lak-ka* | "Nay, Oh servant, I will slay thee and cause thee to go before me." |
| 40. *ù be-li lu 3 û-mi ki-i arki-i̯ā i-bal-lu-ṭu* | And, Oh my lord, lo there are but three days that they live after me. |

The poet here comes to the logical conclusion of his scepticism. Life is a troublesome gift of the gods and death is the only happiness attainable by man. He is powerless to control the course of nature. This is an extreme expression of pessimism not found elsewhere in Babylonian literature. But the Babylonian poet anticipated the Hebrew sceptics in this conclusion, as he undoubtedly wrote before the authors of the Hebrew Books of Job and Ecclesiastes. Compare Job 3, 20—22:

> Why doth he give light to him that is in travail,
> And light unto the bitter in soul;
> Who long for death, but it cometh not;
> And search for it more than for hid treasures;
> Who are glad unto exultation,
> And rejoice when they find the grave?[1]

1. See Driver and Gray, *The Book of Job* 38.

This passage, however, is only of concrete import for it reflects the wish of a man who had fallen upon great trouble. It does not mean that death is desirable in the abstract as a comment upon life in general. The author of the Hebrew Ecclesiastes does make the same abstract criticism of life in general. "The day of death is better than the day of one's birth."[1] But the Hebrew writer is not consistent like the Babylonian poet. For him, life in general is vanity and despair but it is better than death and the house of eternal darkness; "For him that is joined to all the living there is hope; for a living dog is better than a dead lion."[2] The fact remains that this conclusion of despair and skepticism was first expressed in Babylonia and consistently advocated only by certain radical thinkers there.

In the Babylonian Dialogue the master agrees to this teaching of the servant. But let the servant first prove his conviction by being slain first and proceeding his master into the land of death.[3] This the servant agrees to, sarcastically observing that all who now live will shortly pass away. The last line contains another gloomy observation on the brevity of life which makes it appear it quite futile. It recalls the phraseology of a passage in the Bilingual Book of Proverbs which also refers to life as a brief period of three days. "The life of the day before yesterday is departed."[4] Similar observations abound in Babylonian pessimistic literature. Compare the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer, Tab. II, Obv. 39f.

He who was alive yesterday is dead to day.
Quickly is he cast into gloom, suddenly is he cast down."

The Assur text A has the following colophon:

*kima labiri-šu šaṭir-ma bari.*

According to its original it has been written and collated.

1. Ecclesiastes 7, 1; cf. Ebeling, *Quellen* 70.
2. *Ibid.* 9, 4.
3. So also Ebeling, *ibid.* 70.
4. AJSL. 28, 226 § 50. See below, p. 213.

# THE BILINGUAL BOOK OF PROVERBS

The title of this chapter refers to K. 4347, the only extensive tablet of bilingual proverbs extant. It was republished by the writer in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 28, 234—241 and translated and transcribed, *ibid.* 217—230. There are other fragments of the same kind in the Ašurbanipal Library and consequently we should speak of books or tablets of bilingual proverbs. Fragments from smaller tablets of the same kind are published, *ibid.* 242—243. In content this class of wisdom literature stands midway between the absolute pessimism of the *Dialogue of Pessimism* and the instructions of the *Babylonian Book of Proverbs*. These tablets appear to have been written as learned dissertations on life, religion and ethics. The didactic element is strictly subservient to the philosophical or speculative. The introduction and all of the first column of proverbs are lost and so also are the last column and colophon on the large tablet. But the colophon or epilogue of a fragment from another book reads in Sumerian, "Writing is the mother of speakers and the father of skilled men." This implies that these proverbs belong really to speculative literature and learning and have not the object of teaching mankind practical ethics. They represent the contemplative literature of Babylonia and were, therefore, composed in Sumerian and translated into Semitic. My own views regarding the date of these books was stated in the critical edition and since I still believe that the Sumerian version was written by the Semitic scholars I have no reason to alter my opinion regarding the date. They may possibly come from the age of the first Babylonian dynasty but the Sumerian is no criterion nor is it a proof of their great antiquity. This class of literature, of which not a single Babylonian tablet has been found, may have been written by Assyrian scholars and may have been unknown in Babylonia. On this assumption it is late in origin, later

than the 9th century at any rate. This is, however, improbable in view of the fact that all other wisdom literature in Assyria was copied from Babylonian originals. My numbering of the paragraphs on the principal tablet is arbitrary and based upon subjective estimates of the paragraphs which stood in the lost portions.

§ 17. The . . . . . thou shalt smite *and* in the omentum remove it.

§ 18. Thou shalt not eat the omentum and blood thou shalt not drink.

§ 19. Baseness thou shalt not do, wherefore fear of *judgment* will not consume thee.

§ 20. Words thou shalt not employ falsely . . . . . to thy heart . . . . . .

§ 21. Evil thou shalt not do and so an everlasting *treasure* thou wilt obtain.

§§ 22—25. (Destroyed on the tablet.)

§ 26. When the . . . . . is evil, the armies will have success.

§ 27. They say,[1] "Sine coitu does she conceive and without eating does she become corpulent."

§ 28. Coitus supplies milk to give for suckling.

§ 29. Though I toil they take away from me, and though I toil even more and again who repays me?

§ 30. A well where no water is (such a man) digs and husk without grain he raises.

§ 31. Where their gods into the wilderness have turned away, into the ruined house lamentation enters and the tenant is wickedness. He that is wise attains not unto old age. The skilled workman and the artisan whose master need not give heed to his skill, and to whom his master entrusts everything valuable — unto him comes hunger. The *best* that he has is carried away. [Meditation on godlessness.]

§ 32. . . . . insolence he does in the land against . . . . . .

§§ 33 + 34. They say, "Does a marsh take away for itself the price of its reeds, or a field the price of its vegetation?"

1. "They say" renders the enclitic *mi-i*, cf. PBS. V 152 VII 7 ff.; Code of Hammurabi § 9, 9 and 15 and Thureau-Dangin, RA. XI, 154.

"But a strong man lives from the price of his hire and the weak from the price of his children." [Meditation upon the frailty of man compared with the fertility and independence of nature.]

§ 35. Mutilated.

§ 36. They say, "Good is my *nakedness* (?)[1] but it puts an end to me from among my people."

§ 37. He is entirely good, yet he is clothed in rags.

§§ 38 + 39 + 40. The face of an ox that walks with a lash dost thou smite?

Yet as for me who go upon my knees and whose feet weary not, a man of no judgment pursues me with afflictions.

His beast of burden am I. With a mule I am harnessed. A wagon I draw. To seek for cane and fodder I bear a yoke.

§ 41. Obliterated.

§ 42. There is a disease for which there is no physician; it is to have no food to eat. *For the hire* of a water-wheel *to have* no silver; *for the hire of a* . . . . . to have no gold. Water of nine cubits which is put in a jar I draw.[2]

§ 43. My oven which like a garment has been rent I . . . . . my . . . . . servant . . . . . .

§ 44. "In a house of pitch and burnt clay I dwell; clay . . . . . upon me is poured," they say.

§ 45. The . . . . . of garlic I eat. Like *fire*[3] my inwards burn.

§ 46. In a full morass I flounder and on a reed of *wailing I sigh in measures.* My eyes see not.

§ 47. Obliterated.

§ 48. . . . . great dogs have taken away my possessions and have bitten me.

1. *uru* = Sum. *SAL-LA* (?); text of the Sumerian uncertain.

2. § 42 is preserved only in Sumerian and is badly preserved. The restorations and interpretation are extremely uncertain. *epinnu* clearly means water-wheel here, if the last line refers to drawing water in a bucket from a deep well. Recently Witzel has argued that *epinnu* means "plough," see his *Studien* I pp. 1 ff. and Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, 82 n. 13 has accepted his conclusion. But see Meissner, ATU. I 59 f. and p. 34.

3. *MU-úm.*

§ 49. A bird speaks and its oracle *is proclaimed* and its body is divided. [A satire on divination by augury.]

§§ 50 + 51. The life of the day before yesterday is departed.

Like a chair which in the month Tebet thou fashionest well and at the end of the year thou castest away. [These two proverbs both refer to periods of time based upon the figure 3.] In § 50 life is limited to three days and in § 51 a chair is thrown away after three months. See the note on § K of the Dialogue of Pessimism, line 40.

§ 52. Like a chair is man whose god is Shahan (fire-god). For him thou weepest. Thou causest his body to be burned and fire to consume it.

§ 53. If thou art put in a river thy water becomes straightway filthy.

If thou hast been put in a garden thy fruit truly is bitter.

§ 54. If I call unto him, lo! he is one born of woman.

If I polish him, lo! he is but unburnt brick.

§ 55. If springing blade be not sound it will not produce verdure and create seed.

§ 56. Parched grain thrives but what do we understand thereof?

§ 57. "Behold he dies," they say,[1] "let him eat." "Behold he is healed, let him work."

§ 58. They have drowned me and my soul they have gathered. For a . . . . . I am taken. They clothe themselves in my garments.

§ 59. As for man his departure the carpenter buildeth.

§ 60. The city whose weapons are not mighty — from before its city-gate the foe will not be repelled.

§§ 61—62. Obliterated.

§ 63. Like an oven which has become old thy changing is difficult (or, it is difficult to change thee).

§ 64. If thou goest and carriest away (the produce of) the field of another, the other will come and carry away (the produce of) thy field.

§ 65. Royal power is like the . . . . . of a garment.

§ 66. Nay what . . . . . shall *cover* the house?

§ 67. Beans are baked but the *drinking bowl* . . . . . it not.

§ 68—74. Obliterated.

1. On the particle *man*, see PSBA. 1916, 37.

## Fragments of Similar Texts.

Sm. 61.

Upon a glad heart oil is poured out but none knoweth it.

The giving of a king is the making good of a cup bearer. [Liberality obtains good service.]

The giving of a king is the making gracious of a prophet. [A satire on divination. A handsome gift secures a favorable reply from a seer.]

Friendship is of a day, but posterity is of eternity.

If there be strife in the abode of relations there is eating of uncleanness in the place of purity.

A loafer (if he go to) another city will become its head.[1]

A ring does not give protection. [A satire on the wearing of amulets.]

Bu. 80—7—19, 130.

The ox of a stranger he feedeth on grass, but the ox of his workman mightily he afflicteth.

K. 8358.

A wicked king, leader of the violent, the faithless mock at with frivolity.

The proverbs of these collections differ perceptibly from the more practical witticisms which were current among the people. The Babylonian and Assyrian language was undoubtedly rich in sharp and witty folk maxims and humorous songs.[2] At least two of their popular proverbs are known from a letter of an Assyrian king, presumably Esarhaddon, addressed to certain people whom he calls "The non-Babylonians." These, he says, have falsely claimed to be Babylonians and have slandered the kings subjects. They had

1. This proverb obviously anticipated the Aramaic saying recorded in the New Testament, "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country."

2. See the titles of some of the popular songs edited by the writer in JRAS. 1921, 184—189.

intrigued themselves into a false and dangerous situation and the king applies two popular proverbs to them.[1]

"Every-where in the mouth of the people is heard the saying, 'If the dog of a potter has entered into an oven he howls to the heart of the potter'." The meaning seems to be that if one has become entangled in difficulties he should appeal to those who caused the difficulties.

And again his reply contains the following maxim.

"Every-where in the mouth of the people is heard the saying, 'A joyful (lewd) woman at the gate of the house of a judge — her word prevails over that of her husband'."

The point of this maxim is that a judge is sometimes influenced by the attractions of a woman. The king compares the false Babylonians to a lewd woman who hopes to influence the judge by her beauty. They cannot suppose that the king would act in such manner.

1. This letter is published by R. F. Harper, No. 403 of his *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. The nature of its contents was discovered by Professor Johnston, who translated it in AJSL. XXII 244 ff.

# THE BABYLONIAN BOOK OF PROVERBS

This book of wisdom literature is the Babylonian parallel to the Hebrew *Proverbs of Solomon* and the *Story of Ahikar*. The Ninevite library possessed two editions, a redaction on a double column tablet and a redaction on a long single column tablet. Possibly two editions of the single column existed at Nineveh. In Babylonia fragments of a double column edition have been found. The work was edited by the writer in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1916, 105—116, and 131—137, to which the reader is referred for details and commentary. It is characterized by the phrase "My son," being cast in the form of intructions by a father. The Egyptian parallel is represented by *The Proverbs of Ani*, see Griffith, *The World's Best Literature* 5340 ff. and Ranke in Gressmann's *Texte und Bilder* 203, a dialogue between Ani and his son Chons-hotep. The Babylonian and Assyrian texts are all from a late period whereas the Egyptian text is from the eleventh century. It is difficult to assign a date to the Babylonian original but the lofty ethical sentiment expressed in § G which commands to reward evil with good can hardly be attributed to the age of Hammurabi. I reproduce here only a translation of my critical edition. Since the publication of my edition in 1916, a small fragment from Assur, which belongs apparently to the same work, has been published by Ebeling, *KAR.* no. 27. According to Zimmern, ZA. 30, 186, this may contain the introduction to the *Babylonian Book of Proverbs*. Since the fragment refers to *Ut-na-pu-uš-tim*, the Babylonian name of the hero of the Flood and the translation of the Sumerian *Zi-ud-sud-du*, Zimmern concluded that this Book of Proverbs was regarded as a series of instructions given by the Babylonian Noah to his sons after the Flood. The word *ma-ri-šu* in fact immediately precedes the name of Utnapuštim on the tablet.

In fact this legend seems to have been Sumerian, for a small tablet from Nippur translated in my *Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, p. 217, clearly describes Ziudsuddu, the Sisythus of Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, § 12, as addressed by a deity on the Obverse, and on the Reverse he apparently gives instructions to his son,[1] or is himself addressed by a deity as "My son." If these two fragments really refer to a legend that the hero of the Flood gave instructions to mankind after the Flood and the Book of Proverbs had a prologue which attributed these sayings to him, then the book surely existed as early as the 22nd century B. C. A few paragraphs are still missing at the beginning and at the end. The fragment *KAR.* 27 is too badly broken to supply anything essential in these missing sections.

§ A. . . . . quickly . . . . . not shall he do . . . . . goes about and does not care for his house . . . . . shall return unto him . . . . . they have disdain for him. *Before* his people he will have humiliation.

§ B. *In thy heart* not shalt thou devise gossip.
*Unto a* . . . . . who concerns himself not with work shalt thou not go for advice.
. . . . . and by their counsel wouldst thou be led.
Thou wilt lessen thy work, and forsake thy way.

§ C. As a wise and modest man thou shalt glorify thy counsel.
And verily thy speech shall be relied upon, verily thy words shall be treasured.
Thy lips shall be held precious as the delight of men.

§ D. Vulgarity and hatred, verily let them be thine abomination.
Slander shalt thou not speak nor counsel which is not sure.
He that maketh gossip, despised is his head.

§ E. Not shalt thou hasten to stand in an assembly.
Not shalt thou rush to the place of quarreling.
In a quarrel they will employ thee as the umpire.
And thou wilt be taken for their witness.
They will take thee away to settle a dispute for a case which is not thine own.
When confronted by a quarrel not shalt thou seek to unravel it.

1. That is the view taken by Albright, JAOS. 38, 60.

§ F. Verily, if it is thy quarrel which has flamed up, quench thou it.
But be it a quarrel which is just, it is a *bulwark,*
A protecting wall which [*establishes*] the shame of his adversary,
So that his oppressor will *act according to the mind* of a friend.

§ G. *In* thine adversary not shalt thou *place thy whole confidence.*
Unto him that doeth thee evil shalt thou return good.
Unto thine enemy justice shalt thou *mete out.*
Unto thine opponent thy . . . . . shalt thou . . . . . him.
Verily thy gladness . . . . . shall be communicated unto him.
Not shall *thy heart plan to do evil.*
His transgression . . . . . the gods . . . . . .
. . . . . Marduk.

§ H. . . . . .
Not shalt thou trust . . . . . .
Behold the elder brother . . . . . .
. . . . . fear thou and . . . . . .
. . . . . seek thou from him *mercy.*
. . . . . not shalt thou have disdain for them (i. e. parents?).
Cruelly over them shalt thou not act as an oppressor.
Against such a one his god will be angry.
It is not pleasing unto Shamash, who will reward him with evil.

§ I. Give food to eat and wine to drink.
Seek justice, feed and honor (parents?).[1]
In such a one will (his) god have pleasure.[2]
It is pleasing unto Shamash who will reward him with good.

§ J. Render[3] aid and be merciful always.
A handmaid in the house shalt thou not overburden.[4]

. . . . . .

1. My text in PSBA. 1916, 133 is now restored by No. 116 of Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts,* Rev. 54 where read *e-riš ki-it-ti e-pir ù ku-ub-bit.* See Ungnad, OLZ. 1920, 249.

2. Var. *ibid, ina an-nim-ma ilu ḫa-di-iš.*

3. Var. *ibid* has *šum-šu* for *šub-šu,* according to the copy; *šum* is erroneous and may be due to a mistake of the scribe. At the end of the line the Var. has *du-ur û-mu.*

4. Read *tu-kab-bit,* restored from the Philadelphia variant.

*In the time of adversity* thy claim shalt thou not *press.*
Thy right not shalt thou take away (?).
In the mouth of peoples[1] thy . . . . . thus wilt thou bear.
The house of a handmaid . . . . . shall be squandered (?).

§ K. Not shalt thou marry a courtesan, whose husbands are many;
Nor a harlot who has been consecrated unto god;
Nor a votress whose humiliation is manifold.
From thy sorrow not will she lift thee up.
In thy quarrel she will ridicule thee.
Fear of god and humility are not with her.
Verily, if she beset a house, lead her there-from.
If her attention be turned upon the footsteps of a stranger,
(Whither) she enters elsewhere into a house, it will be scattered, and he that marries her will not prosper.

§ L. My son, whatsoever be his desire, of the prince thou art (a subject).
Guard thou his seal, verily *thou art confided with power.*[2]
Open thou his treasury, enter within,
For before thee a stranger was not there.
Countless property thou wilt discover therein.
But upon all such shalt thou not lift thine eye.
Not shall thy heart ponder to do any thing stealthy.
For later the matter will be *examined,*
And the stealth which thou hast done will be revealed.
The prince will hear of it and . . . . . thee.

. . . . . .

§ M. Not shalt thou deal in slander, but speak what is pure.
Evil shalt thou not utter, say what is good.
Of him that deals in slander, speaking evil,
Shamash shall wait for his head with recompense.

§ N. Make not wide thy mouth, but guard thy lips.
The thoughts of thy mind not shalt thou speak at once;

1. Cf. *ina pî nišê lis-ša-kin ta-nit-ti,* Ebeling, KAR. 68 R. 2 = King, *Magic* 4, 5.
2. For *allat* = *allātū,* cf. *ṣallat,* IV R. 13 *a* 41.

For then quickly, what thou hast spoken, wilt thou take back again,

§ O. Daily thy god adore,
With sacrifice and address becoming to incense offerings.
For thy god mayest thou have free-will offerings.[1]
This is what is becoming unto divinity.
Prayer, praise and supplication on thy face,
Daily shalt thou give him and thy power will be vast.
And in abundance wilt thou have success with god.
In thy learning read thou on the tablet.
Fear (of god) begetteth favour[1] (of god).
Sacrifice increaseth life,
And prayer dissolveth sin.
As for him that fears the gods, not will [his god] neglect him.
He that fears the Anunnaki will lengthen [his days].

§ P. With friend and companion not shalt thou speak . . . . . .
Baseness shalt thou not speak, but say what is good.
If thou hast promised, give . . . . . .
If thou hast given encouragement, thou shalt . . . . . .
If thou hast . . . . . a companion . . . . . .
If thou hast encouraged a friend [thou shalt *aid him in deed*].
When thou learnest . . . . . .

1. Read *šaggikarrû*. Note the variant *ŠAG-IGI-KAR-RA-a*, K. 7897 Rev. 14; cf. *nikê R-e*, i. e. *šaggikarrê*, Winckler, *Sargon* 53, 6, pl. 25. Note Var. *šag-gi-kar*, BA. V 319, 16; VS. I 36 II 10 and *šag-gi-kar* = *babal libbi*, II Raw. 39, 34. For the meaning, "voluntary offerings", see King, *Boundary stones*, No. 35. Rev. 12.

# THE SUPPOSED RULES OF MONTHLY DIET

In II Raw. 60 No. 1 was published K. 4334, one of the most enigmatical documents in Cuneiform literature. The official publication confused the two faces of the tablet. Alfred Boissier republished the Obverse in *Revue sémitique* IX 146—160 and endeavored to penetrate the mysterious contents of the text. K. 9287, a duplicate of Obv. II and III was published by Boissier, *ibid.*, 159—160. The important variant of Obv. I, K. 6392, noted by Boissier, was communicated in transcription by Virolleaud, *ibid.*, p. 257; a copy by Mr. Sidney Smith is reproduced in this volume. I have been unable to detect similar tablets or to find further fragments of K. 4334, but by combining K. 6392 with Col. I of the Obverse the nature of this portion of the text is clear enough. It is not a tablet of dietary rules but a series of imprecations against the demons wishing them all manner of objectionable food throughout the twelve months of the year. The fragment of Col. II restored from K. 9287 reveals the fact that this column contained a series of paragraphs in which the man, now rescued from the demons by the rituals of incantation, proceeds to celebrate his deliverance and to ridicule the demons. With the solution of the first two columns the contents of the entire tablet in six long columns should be comprehensible, but Col. III contained apparently a series of omens of which a few signs only are preserved, and which do not seem to have any connection at all with the subject. I can make very little sense out of Cols. I—III of the Reverse, despite Boissier's valiant attempt to elucidate the text. Reverse III contains a list of deities and the names of the cities in which they were worshipped. It is somewhat unusual to find in this list the names of two well known kings of the last Sumerian dynasty of Ur. In line 6, $^{iti}SUḪ$ or Tiš-pak is said to be lord of the city Dungi-Nannar, a city not other-

wise known. The name of a city Dungi-Babbar does occur in the period of Dungi, THUREAU-DANGIN, SAK. 196, d. In line 18, the $^{ilat}$Ḫiraitum is said to be queen of the city Gimil-Sin. The determinative for "god" is omitted before the name of the latter king. In line 26 the text has $^{ilat}$*Innini Ḫallab-(ki)* = *šarrat Keš(ki)*. The first sign in this line is correctly given in BRÜNNOW's *Classified List*, No. 3058. The city Keš has not been identified, but its location in the vicinity of Ḫallab, a section of the great city Erech, is certain. These facts indicate an early date for the tablet and the copy represented by the tablets from Niniveh are obviously based upon a source not later than the period of the kings of Isin. A few phrases in Rev. II are intelligible; *anaku napāša alî*, "I am able to breathe freely" (4); *anaku nuzzuza alî*, "I am able to stand (?)" (5); *zammeraku kî atani* (8); *šarraḳu ikkibû-a mimmu amaru ul ezib*, "A thief is my abomination, he leaves not any thing he can see". Cols. I—II of the Reverse conceivably have reference to a ritual of healing and the list of deities which closes the tablet may contain the names of the gods to whom the supplicant appealed. My notes on this text are made after a new collation of all the tablets mentioned above; at present the only result attainable is negative rather than positive. The fragments shew at any rate what the contents do not mean and the text cannot be adduced as evidence that the Babylonians possessed rules for regulating the diet of religious orders.

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . . . | . . . . . |
| 1. [*araḫ Ululu mi-nu-ú*] *ú-kul-ta-ka* | 1. In the month Ulul what shall be thy food? |
| 2. . . . . *u di-ig-me-ni*[1] | 2. . . . . in . . . . . and flame |
| 3. . . . . (?) *ta-pat-tan* | 3. thou shalt eat. |
| 4. *araḫ Tešrit mi-nu-ú ú-kul-ta-ka* | 4. In the month Teshrit what shall be thy food? |

1. See TALLQUIST, *Maḳlu*, p. 144 and EBELING, KAR. No. 47, 5.

5. *I-KU-RU ina ka-ra-ši u bi-iḳ-na*[1] *ša kur-ki-i*
6. *ina pap-pa-si ta-pat-tan.*

5. *IKUKU* in garlic and offal (?) of the crane
6. in bran (?) thou shalt eat.

7. *araḫsamma mi-nu-ú ú-kul-ta-ka*
8. *su-un-gi-ra*[2] *i-na lap-ti*[3]
9. *u ṣip-pa-ta ina KU-NU-LAḪ-ḪA*[4] *ta-pat*-tan

7. In the eighth month what shall be thy food?
8. *sungiru*-plant with turnips
9. and reeds with the plant . . . . . thou shalt eat.

10. *araḫ Kislimu mi-nu-ú ú-kul-ta-ka*
11. [*ka-bu-ut*] *purimi ina a-za-an-ni*[5]
12. [*uiltam*[7]] *ša kunaši ina ki-sim-mi ta-pat-tan*

10. In the month Kislim what shall be thy food?
11. Excrement[6] of the wild ass in *azannu*
12. and chaff of spelt in the stall[8] shalt thou eat.

13. [*araḫ Ṭeb*]*it*[9] *mi-nu-ú ú-kul-ta-ka*

13. In the month Tebit what shall be thy food?

1. Hrozný, *Das Getreide im alten Babylonien*, p. 107 reads *bi-en-na* but I could not see this reading on the tablet. For *pappasu*=*papasu*, see *ibid.* Hrozný renders *pappasu* by "flour-dust."

2. See p. 44 n. 6. The form *sungirtu* occurs in Harper's *Letters*, 1000, 8 and *zēri ša* $^{šam}$*su-un-gi-ir-ti*, "seed of the *sungirtu* plant," which wild asses eat, K. 1550 Obv. 8, in Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilinschrifttexten*, p. 30.

3. K. 6392, *NAR-ti.*

4. K. 6392 $^{šam}$*KU-NU-LAḪ*, "the unclean *KU*-plant"

5. Or *mê ṣanni*?

6. *ḳabûtu*, cattle stall, like its synonym *piḳḳannu*, has apparently the original sense of *extreta.*

7. Written *in-nu-ri.*

8. For *kisimmu*, cattle stall, v. the *Chicago Syllabary* 52, *kisimmu* and *tarbaṣu* both explanations of Sum. *kisim.*

9. Read *araḫ AB-BA-UD-DU.* Var. K. 6392 omits *UD-DU.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 14. [*bi-na-at u*]*sî ḳa-bi-e*[1] *ša ina ba-ṣi šu-nu-lu* | 14. [*Eggs*[2] *of the duck*] which were laid in the sand |
| 15. [*ú ra-bi-ik*[3]] *ka-mu-ši ša* nâr *Puratti* | 15. and a mixture of the plant (?) *kamušu* of the Euphrates |
| 16. [4] *ta-pat-tan* | 16. shalt thou eat (in butter). |
| 17. [*araḫ Šabaṭ*] *mi-nu-ú ú-kul-ta-ka* | 17. In the month Shabaṭ what shall be thy food? |
| 18. [*ša pu-uḫ-ri šu*]*-uḫ-ḫu*[5] *ša imēri zi-ka-ri* | 18. The . . . . . of the male ass |
| 19. [*zi-e kalbi zi-e*] *?-ṣa-a-ti tu-ma-al-la-ma ta-pat-tan* | 19. with offal of the dog, offal of . . . . shalt thou fill and eat. |
| 20. [. . . . *-ú ul tag*]*-da-mar šin-ni ḳir-ṣap-pi* | 20. . . . . teeth[6] of the footstool |
| 21. [. . . . . *ri*]*-ka ú-šar-ri-pu* | 21. . . . . have they burned. |
| 22. *araḫ Adaru mi-nu-ú u-kul-ta-ka* | 22. In the month Adar what shall be thy food? |
| 23. *ba*[7]*-ki-ḳa-tum ina lap-ti* | 23. The plant (?) *bakiḳatu* with turnips . . . . . |

. . . . . .

1. The passage is apparently elucidated by Strassmaier, *Cambyses* 194, 2 (cited by Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon*, p. 901) where *UZ-TUR-ḪU ḳa-bi-e* designates a kind of duck.

2. *ḫimat* has the form of the construct of *ḫintu*, daughter: the word *ḫintu* like the late Hebrew בַּת may possibly have here the derived meaning of "the little ones of," "offspring of," and then "product of."

3. *rabiku* cannot mean "mixer" (*rābiku*) here and note that *rabiku* in BE. 31, 73, 35, is a variant of *ribku*, *ibid.* 67, 6. Hence Kuchler, *Med.* p. 38, 41 and 42, 7 are also to be corrected.

4. K. 6392 inserts here *ina ḫimêti*.

5. In PBS. 12 Pl. XI 35 *šuḫḫu* follows *pû*, womb, and is followed by *ḳinnatu* rectum, all with the same ideogram.

6. Probably a term employed to describe the toothlike decoration of certain footstools.

7. The text is illegible; cf. K. 9287 II 5.

## Col. II.

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . . . | . . . . . |
| 12. *ša* . . . . . du . . . . . *ù ka-lu-ta* | 12. . . . . and psalmody, |
| 13. *ar-man-na ḫa-da-da ù si-ra-šu-ta* | 13. perfume,[1] *happiness*[2] and banqueting.[3] |
| 14. a-lu-zi-in[4] *mi-na-a te-li-ʾ-i* | 14. *And so then!* what canst thou do? |
| 15. *su-un-gi-ra ina lap-ti* | 15. *Sungiru*-plant with turnips. |
| 16. *ba-ki-ḳa-ti ina ku-zu-ub la-te-e*[5] *e-ki-ma*[6] | 16. The plant *bakiḳatu take thou unto the satiety of eating* (??) |
| 17. *la-sa-ma ù ka-la-ṃa a-li-ʾ-i* | 17. But I am able to run and see. |
| 18. a-lu-zi-in *mi-na-a te-li-ʾ-i* | 18. *And so then!* what canst thou do? |
| 19. *a-ši-pu-ta ka-la-ma a-na ḳatê-ia-ma ul uṣ-ra*[7] | 19. Have they not designed the craft of the magician altogether for my hands? |
| 20. a-lu-zi-in *ki-i a-ši-pu-ut-ka* | 20. *And so then!* over against thy witchcraft |

1. *armannu* is properly the pomegranate and classified as a tree with *ḫašḫuru* apple tree, Meissner, MVAG. 1913, No. 2, p. 15, 41—45 and identical with Hebrew *rimmōn*, &c. But a secondary meaning "perfume" is also certain from the Sumerian equivalent *ir-si-im*, "odor of ointment," where *sim* = *šim* = *rukḳu*. Note that in IV R. 20 No. 1 Rev. 1 *ir-si-im* = *armannu* and *ir-sim* = *i išu*, sweet odor.

2. For *ḫadādu* see p. 56 n. 11.

3. *širašûtu* is an abstract noun derived from *širiš*, *širaš*, Sumerian title of the goddess of wine and banquets, and *širašû*, loan-word for "wine-mixer."

4. This obscure term I take to be Sumerian for *aḫulap dalāḫ-kunu*, How long your tormenting? addressed to the demons and debased into a common interjection, alas! and so then!

5. *laṭû*, to chew, is purely conjectural and based upon the Arabic *laṭaǧ*, bite, Ethiopic *maltāḥet*, maxillary and Heb. *malteʿôth*, teeth.

6. *eki*, Imp. of *laḳû*? Cf. *iḳ-ḳi-e*, *Maḳlu* II 107; *ik-ku-u*, IV R. 61 V 62 f. and *ik-ki*, SBH. 77, 28.

7. The interpretation presupposes a verb *primae* ו as variant of the regular *primae* י, יצר.

| | |
|---|---|
| 21. *um-ma bita rābiṣa u-kel a-gub-ba-a ukân(an)* | 21. *so the house against the prowler* I defend. Clean water I set forth. |
| 22. *máš-ḫul-dúb-bi-e a-rak-kas* | 22. A scapegoat I make ready. |
| 23. *pa-ra-a*[1] *a-[rak]-kas še-in-nu u-ma-al-la* | 23. Emmer meal I make ready and I fill the copper vessel. |
| 24. *ṣip-pa-ta a-rak-kas-ma i-ša-ta a-ḳad* | 24. Reeds I make ready and a fire I kindle. |
| 25. *tur-ta-at biti ù sa-ḫi-ra-ti-šu e-zib* | 25. The . . . . of the house and its *surroundings* I have rescued. |
| 26. *rābiṣu ša biti ša-a-šu ṣîru ù zuḳaḳipu ul in-ni-zib* | 26. The demon who spied on this house, the serpent and the scorpion are not spared. |
| 27. a-lu-zi-in *mi-na-a te-li-ʾ-i* | 27. *And so then!* what canst thou do? |
| 28. [*aš-la-ku-ta*][2] *ka-la-ma ina ḳa-ti-a ul uṣ-ra* | 28. Have they not designed the art of purification altogether for my hand? |
| 29. a-lu-zi-in *ki-i aš-la-ku-ut-[ka]* | 29. *And so then!* over against cleansing art |
| 30. . . . . *amelu i*-taš- . . . . . | 30. . . . . |
| . . . . . | |

## Col. III.

. . . . . .

(K. 9287)

| | |
|---|---|
| 2. *at-tu-nu ma-li* . . . . . | 2. |
| 3. *a-na ri-gim tu* . . . . . | 3. |

1. *parû, parrû*, a loan-word from *pár-ra*, syn. of *kunašu*, BM. 81—4—28, Obv. 23 in JRAS. 1905, 829.

2. *ašlakûtu*, the craft of the fuller, from *ašlaku*, fuller, Sum. *azalag*. The word is employed in its proper sense, Boissier, *Choix*, II 26, 9.

| | |
|---|---|
| 4. $^{iṣu}maḳaddu$ . . . . . | 4. |
| 5. *šum-ma nêšu* . . . . . | 5. |
| 6. *nêšu ša bāb* $^{ilat}$Iš-[tar? . . .] | 6. |
| 7. *am-me-ni nêšu* . . . . . | 7. |
| 9. *šum-ma pi-ru-ru-ti* . . . . . | 9. |
| 10. *a-kil u-tul-li* . . . . . | 10. |
| 11. *ḳaḳḳad-su* . . . . . | 11. |
| 12. *ḳil-la-tuš ḳil-la-* . . . . . | 12. |
| 13. *a-di pi-ru-ru-ti* . . . . . | 13. |
| 14. *šum-ma amat biti* . . . . . | 14. |
| 15. *il-ta* . . . . . | 15. |
| 16. *a-di* . . . . . | 16. |
| 17. *šum-ma* . . . . . | 17. |

K. 4334 III at end, *šum-ma ù* . . . . . *a-kil a-lik ur-* . . . . .

# LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

AJSL. = American Journal of Semitic Languages.
ATU. = Assyrische Texte und Untersuchungen, ed. by Bruno Meissner.
BA. = Beiträge zur Assyriologie.
Bab. = Babyloniaca, ed. by Ch. Virolleaud.
Babylonian Job, refers to the Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer.
BE. = Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.
BL. = Babylonian Liturgies, by S. Langdon.
BBS. = Babylonische Bußpsalmen, by H. Zimmern.
Boissier, *Choix* = Alfred Boissier, *Choix des Textes relatifs à la divination Assyro-Babylonienne.*
Boissier, DA. = *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux présages.*
Commentary, refers to K. 3291, Pls. I—III.
CT. = Cuneiform Tablets of the British Museum.
Delitzsch, H. W. = Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.*
Holma, *Körperteile* = Harri Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen.*
Holma, *Personennamen* = *Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Personennamen der Form guttulu.*
KAR. = Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts, by Erich Ebeling.
King, *Creat.* = The Seven Tablets of Creation, by L. W. King.
King, *Magic* = Babylonian Magic and Sorcery, by L. W. King.
KB. = *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ed. Eberhard Schrader.
Küchler, *Med.* = *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin.*
JA. = Journal Asiatique.
JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JSOR. = Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.
LSS. = Leipziger Semitistische Studien.
Muss-Arnolt, *Lexicon* = W. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-Englisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch.*
MVAG. = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
OLZ. = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.
PBS. = Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia.
PSBA. = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
R. Raw. = *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, ed. Sir H. C. Rawlinson.
RA. = Revue d'Assyriologie, ed. V. Scheil and F. Thureau-Dangin.
Radau, Miscel. = *Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts* by Hugo Radau in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume.*
SBP. = Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms, by S. Langdon.
Shurpu = *Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu*, by H. Zimmern.
Streck, Asurb. = Maximilien Streck, *Assurbanipal*, VAB. VII.

Sum. Gr. = A Sumerian Grammar, by S. Langdon.
Thompson, Rep. = Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers, by R. Campbell Thompson.
Thureau-Dangin, Sargon = F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation de la Huitième Campagne de Sargon.*
VAB. = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
Virolleaud, Astr. Suppl. = L'Astrologie Chaldéenne, by Ch. Virolleaud.
V. S. = Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler.
ZA. = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, ed. Ch. Bezold.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
Zimmern, Rt. Taf. = H. Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger.*

# TEXTS

K. 2518 + DT. 358 + K. 8396, Pl. IV.
K. 3291, Pl. I—III.
K. 3323, Pl. III.
K. 8396, Pl. IV—V.
Sm. 1745, Pl. IV.

IV Raw. 59, No. 2, translated pp. 11—16 from a collation.
Ebeling, KAR. No. 108, v. p. 4.
— KAR. No. 175, v. p. 4.
— KAR. Nos. 10 + 11, v. p. 5.
Sippar 37 after Scheil and Messerschmidt, p. 4.
— 55 after Thompson, v. p. 4.

Ebeling, KAR. No. 96, v. p. 68.
Reisner, SBH. p. 143, v. p. 68.

K. 4347, v. p. 82, and AJSL. 28, 234—2341.
K. 8358, v. p. 86, and AJSL. 28, 243.
Sm. 61, v. p. 86, and AJSL. 28, 242.
Bu. 80—7—19, 130, v. p. 86, and AJSL. 28, 242.
K. 3364 = CT. XIII 29—30.
K. 8231 = PSBA. 1916, Pl. IX.
K. 8282 + 7897 = PSBA. 1916, Pls. VII, VIII, X.
BM. 33851, King, Seven Tablets of Creation, I 64—66.
Ebeling, KAR. No. 27, v. p. 89.

K. 4334 = II Raw. 60, v. pp. 93—99.
K. 6392, Pl. VI.
K. 9287, Boissier, *Revue Sémitique*, IX 159—160.

# INDEX


*abaru,* strength, 58.
*abāṭu,* to bind, 60 n. 1; 56 n. 9.
*abbuttu,* forehead and slavery, 60 n. 1.
*aḫulap,* 52 n. 2.
*akkanu,* wild ass, 71, 22; 72, 28.
*alāku* with *eli,* to go over, harass, 71, 16.
*aluzin,* adverb(?), 97 n. 4.
*amīru = zi'i uzni,* 55, 19.
*AN-GUB-BA (ilu)* 66, 21.
*armannu,* perfume, 97, 13.
*âru,* skin, 46, 28.
*aspu, ašpu, ušpu,* sorcery, 60 n. 6.
*assukku,* lump, 60 n. 5.
*ašlakûtu,* 98, 28.
*atû,* to come, 43, 53.

*Bâb alaḫ kuzbi,* a gate, 65, 15.
*Bâb itti namrati,* a gate, 64, 9.
*Bâb ḫegalli,* a gate, 64, 4.
*Bâb lamassi-rabi,* a gate, 64, 5.
*Bâb paṭār 'ilti,* a gate, 64, 10.
*Bâb paṭār tâniḫi,* a gate, 65, 12.
*Bâb mê têlilti,* a gate, 65, 13.
*Bâb salimi,* a gate, 64, 6; 65, 14.
*Bâb ṣit šamši,* a gate, 64, 8.
*Bâb ša'āl pî,* a gate, 64, 11.
*bakiḳatu,* a plant, 96, 23; 97, 16.
*bintu,* egg(?), 96, 14.

*daiāiālu,* hunting, 71, 20; 72, 26.
*darru,* bearded, 52, 40.
*dûtu,* form, 15, 19; 59.

*egîtu,* Pl. *egâti,* short-coming, sin, 53, 59.
*Ekur,* temple, 54, 7.
*elilu,* song, 42, 41.
*ennitu,* punishment, 53, 57.
*epinnu,* plough, water-wheel(?), 84 n. 2.
*erēnu, irnu,* root, foundation, 58.
*Esagila,* temple in Babylon, 63.
*esēḳu,* to cut, hew, 46, 28.
*eṣentu,* bone, 46, 28; 71, 20.
*ešû,* verb, two roots, 48 n. 2.
*etēḳu,* to crush, 43 n. 9.

*gulgullu,* skull, 79, 31.

*ḫabil,* 49, 51.
*ḫadādu,* to rejoice, 97, 13; 56, 29.
*ḫadû, ḫadîtu,* offender, 49 n. 2.
*ḫaḫuru,* a bird, 71, 21; 72, 27.
*ḫalāšu = laḫāšu,* 57, 31.
*ḫamû,* to quiver, 50, 14.
*ḫaštu,* cavern, 36 n. 4.
*Ḫubur,* river, 61, 7.

*i,* with imperative, 76 n. 6.
*iliš, eliš,* god-like, 40, 31.
*illurtu,* fetter, 47, 32.
*imḫullu,* evil mind, 8 n. 1; 54, 5.
*Irkalla,* lower world, 42, 47.
*irtu,* Pl. *irāti,* song, 57, 31.

*kabātu, kubbutu,* to honor, 90 n. 1.
*ḳabûtu,* cattle-stall, 95, 11.
*ḳaiālu,* tyrant, 72, 32.
*ḳâlu,* be dumb, 43, 60.
*katāru,* to halt, restrain, 45, 20.
*Kêš,* city near Erech, 95.
*ki-e, kê,* thus, so, 73, 36.
*kiḫullu,* mourner's stool, 60 n. 7.
*kimi,* so, thus, 75, 2; 73, 39; 78, 17; 79, 25.
*kimaḫu,* grave, tomb, 48, 49.
*kimru,* 13, 24.
*ḳinnu,* mountain, 58.
*kippatu,* bowl (of Marduk), 79, 27.
*ḳiptu,* loan, 76, 11.
*kiribu,* grace, 49, 55.
*kisimmu,* stall, 95, 12.
*kisukku,* prison, 46, 31.
*kunnu, mê kunnu,* in rituals, 60 n. 4.

*la'āṭu*, to devour, 46, 23.
*lagabbu*, corpse, 57, 30.
*laptu*, turnip, 95, 8.
*laḳû*, Imp. *e-ki*, 97, 16.
*latû*, to chew, 97 n. 5.
*lazzu*, a disease, 55, 14.

*marāṭu*, to make bald, 60.
*marṣatu*, misery, 69 n. 2.
*mašāku*, 41, 35.
*maššaku*, 37.
*maššil*, Adverb(?), 38, 20.
*mi-i*, enclitic, 83 n. 1.
*miḫiṣtu*, exuding, 56, 21.
*minâtu*, 50, 10.
*mû*, bowels, 45, 14.
*mullilu*, 51, 24.

*nanna(r)*, in *i-nanna*, 73, 37.
*napālu* with *înu*, 74, 45.
*napāḳu*, 56, 20; 45, 15; 57, 30; 57, 32.
*Nâru* (ilu), in water ordeal, 59.
*nibû*, 54, 7.
*nîmeḳu*, conception of the word, 5—6.
*nîtû*, to come, march, 47, 40.

*palāṣu*, to quake, 45, 8.
*panû*, with *abālu*, to pardon, 69 n. 5.
*pappasu*, 95, 6.
*paḳḳu*, 12, 16.
*parû*, a meal, 98, 23.
*patānu*, to dine, 69, 12—15; 95, 16.
*patānu*, to support, 58; 61, 3.
*pitātu*, mouth, 36 n. 4.
*pitru*, 44, 2.
*pupanu*, stomach, 44, 5.
*purîdu*, limb, lap, 13, 22 . 24; with *pitû*, 63, 18.

*rabiku*, a mixture, 96, 15.
*ribbatu*, 56, 22.
*riḫû*, to bewitch, 54 n. 7.
*ruḫṣu*, 47, 41.
*ru'tu*, lungs, 57, 32.

*sakātu*, be silent, 74, 49—51.
*salû*, to be worthless, 46 n. 4.
*silêtu*, 46, 25; 48, 46; 53, 47.
*sirašûtu*, banqueting, 97, 13.
*sungiru*, a plant, 44 n. 6; 95, 8.
*ša'ilûtu*, 37, 7.
*šagāru*, to lock, 35 n. 4.
*SAG-GUG* = *daliḫtu*(?), 75, 3.
*šaggikarrû*, offerings, 92.
*šaḫāḫu*, be limpid, 46, 27.
*šammaḫu*, 58.
*šapāḫu*, to spread, *šipḫu*, curtain, 55, 16.
*šêdu*, protecting genius, 49, 55.
*šêlu*, be sharp, 75 n. 5.
*šuḫḫu*, anus(?), 96, 18.
*šûlu*, ghost, 54, 6.
*šulum*, ghost, 43, 53.
*šûṣû*, thurifer, 58.
*šuttu*, woe, 51, 29.
*ṣibit appi*, sneezing, 42, 41.
*ṣillatu*, bruising, 47, 35.
*ṣupurâ*, *ṣuprâ*, lungs(?), 58.

*tabaštānu*, 48, 42.
*te'û*, to crush, 43, 59; 55, 14.
*te'u*, to exude, *te'ātu*, pus, 55, 16.
*TIL*, Sumerian for *šumma*, 77, 15.

*ulilu*, a plant, 44, 5.
*ûm ili*, "day of god," festival, 38 n. 10.
*umāšu*, strength, 58.
*ummu*, mucus, 56, 20.
*ur'udu*, gullet, 46, 22; 57, 30.
*usātu*, help, 79, 26—27.
*usû*, duck, *usû ḳabû*, 96, 14.

*waṣāru* for *ʒaṣāru* (*eṣēru*), 97, 19.

*zarābu*, 42 n. 4.
*zû*, knowledge, 41, 37.

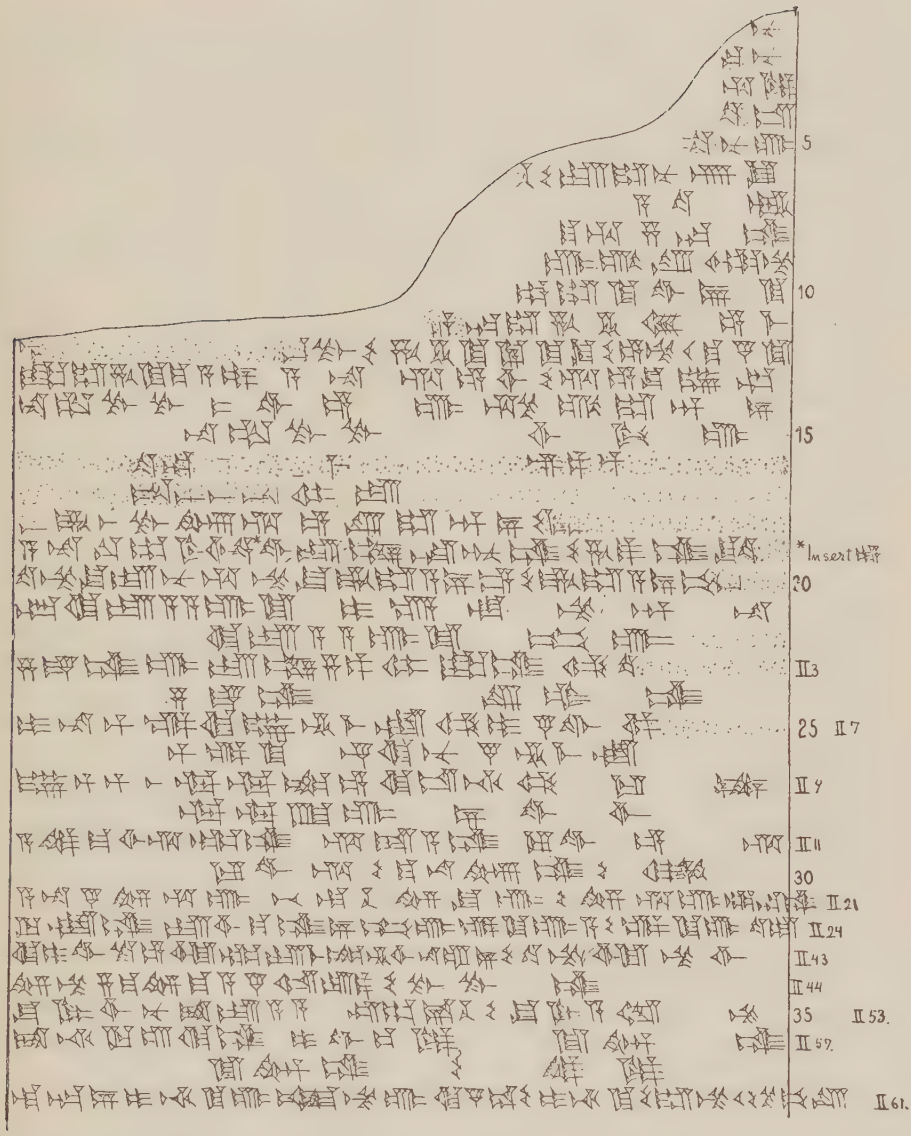
# SUBJECT INDEX AND PROPER NAMES


*Aruru*, goddess, 63.
Deified kings, worship of, 22 ff.
Dreams, 7; 10 ff; 15, 21.
Ea, god of wisdom, 6.
Ecclesiastes, 68; 69; 80; 81.
Gibil (god), 63.
Ignorance of mankind, 24 ff; 28; 41.
Life after death, 29.
Marduk (god), 9; 17; 52, 41:53; 60; 61; 63; 65; 79.
Nergal god of judgment in lower-world, 28.
Nippur, city, 51, 25.
Normal term of life, 23; 36 n. 8.
Original sin, 19 ff.; 23; 42, 40, *et passim*.
Personal god, 16 ff.; 17 n. 1.
Pessimism, dialogue of, 67 ff.
Posterity, theory of rewards by, 27.
Proverbs, folk proverbs, 86—87.
*Šaḫan*, fire-god, 85.
*Šamaš* (god), 63; 50, 20.
Shubshi-meshrê-Nergal, 7; 8; 9; 52, 42.
Suffering, proves that sin had been committed, 27.
Susa tablets on life after death, 29—30.
*Ṭâbi-utul-Enlil*, 8; 51, 25.
Ur-Bau, ancient king of Lagash, 7; 8; 10; 52 n. 3.
Zarpanit, goddess, 9; 62, 11. 13; 65.
Ziudsuddu, 9; 88; 89.

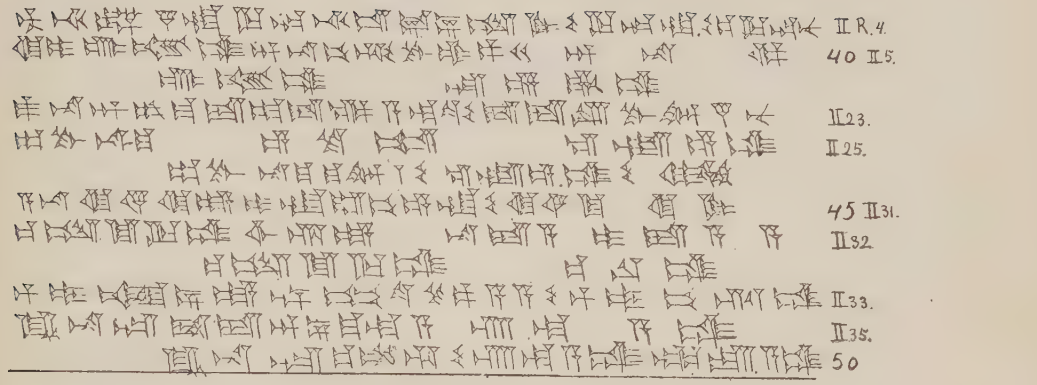

# AUTHORS CITED


Albright, 89.
Barton, 21.
Boissier, 93.
Driver and Gray, 80.
Ebeling, 68; 73; 74; 75.
Frank, 37.
Griffith, F. Ll., 88.
Holma, 46; 55; 57; 58.
Jastrow, 4; 37; 39; 40; 41; 47; 49.
Jensen, 37.
Jeremias (Alfred), 79.
Johnston, Prof., 87.
Landsberger, 5; 38; 39.
Landersdorfer, 7; 53; 55.
Martin, 47; 55; 56; 60.
Messerschmidt, 4; 46.
Radau, 36.
Ranke, 69; 88.
Rashdall, 29.
Scheil, 4; 29; 72.
Smith, Sidney, 93.
Streck, 49.
Thompson, R. Campbell, 4; 52; 54; 55; 56.
Thureau-Dangin, 40; 44; 48; 54; 79.
Ungnad, 29; 42; 73.
Virolleaud, 93.
Vogelsang and Gardiner, 67.
Zimmern, 14; 22; 39; 51; 62; 63; 89.

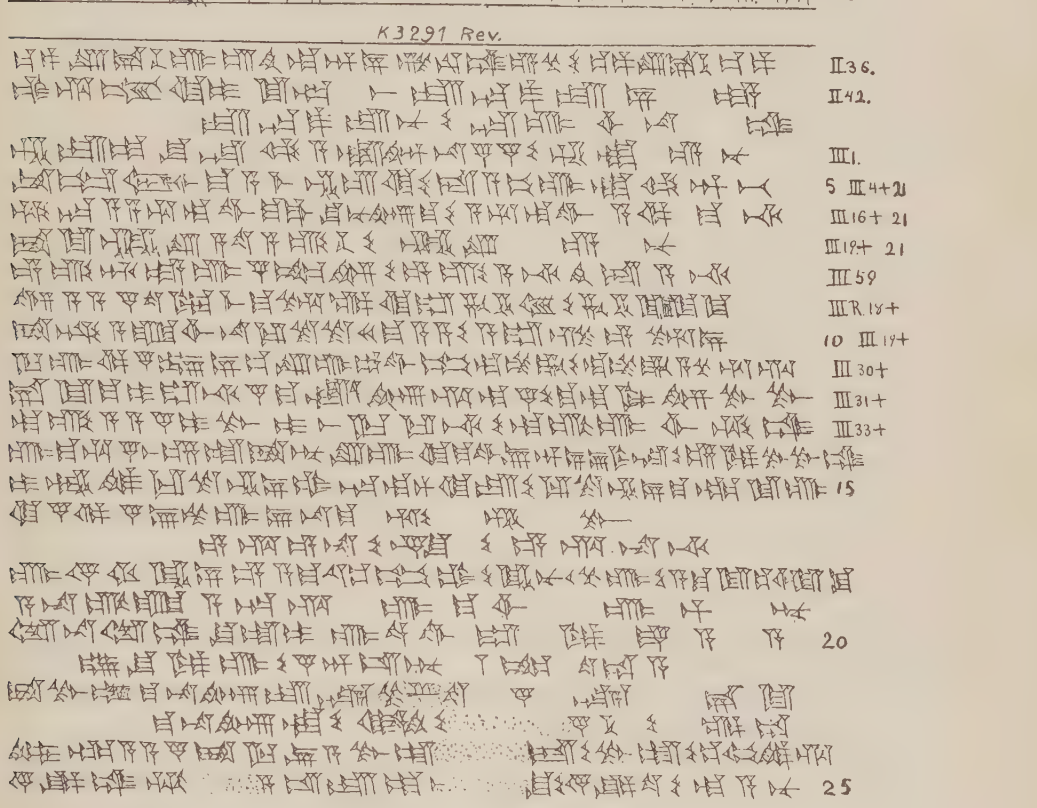
K. 3291 Obv.

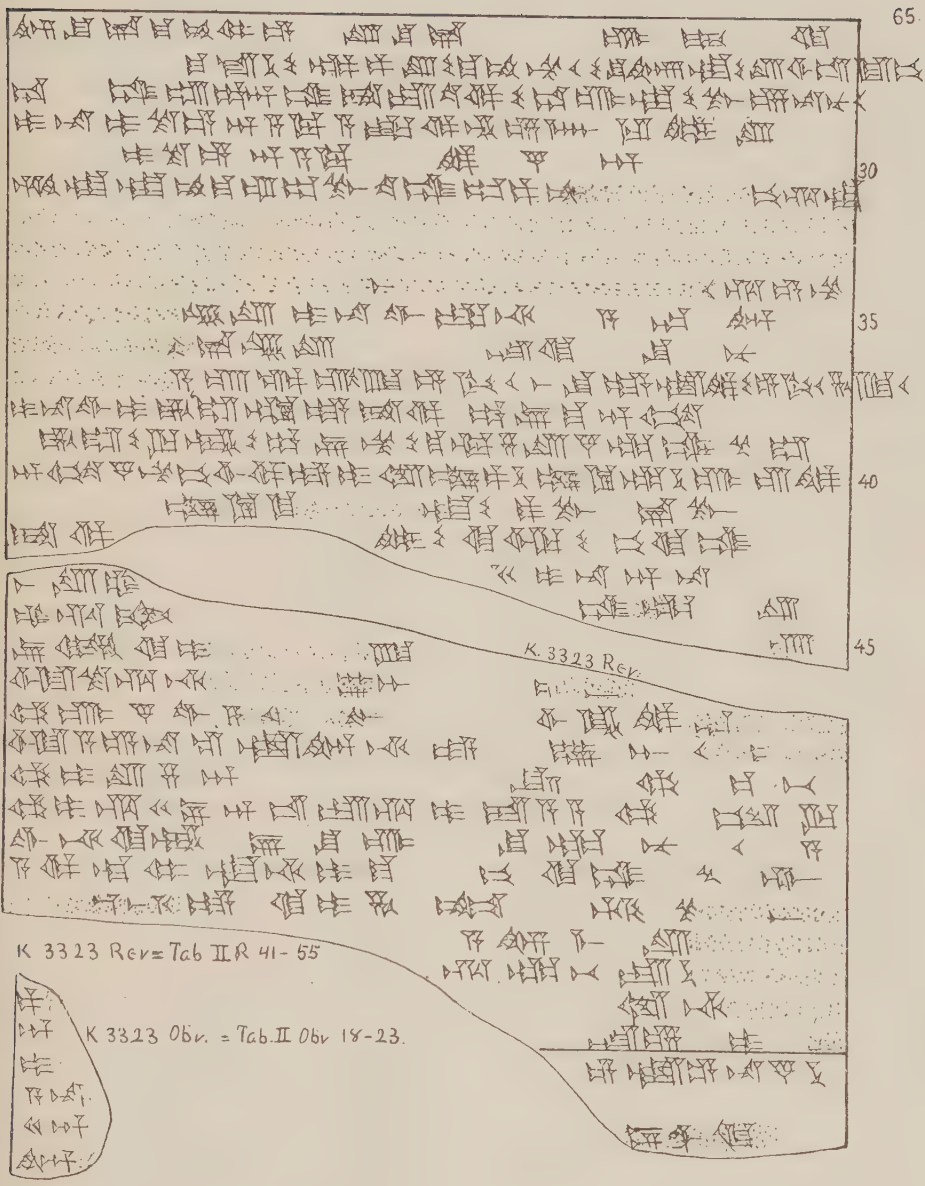

5
10
15
*Insert
20
II 3
25
II 7
II 9
II 11
30
II 21
II 24
II 43
II 44
35
II 53.
II 57.
II 61.

K. 3291.

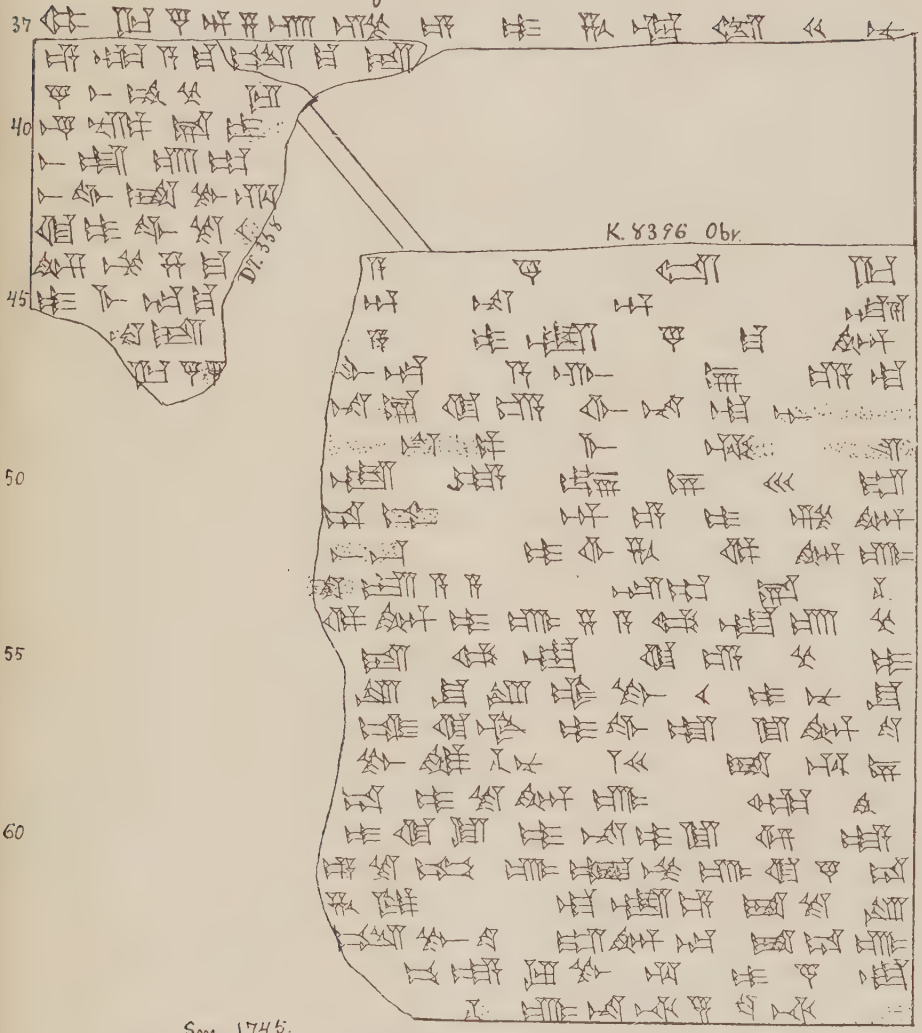



K 3291 Rev.

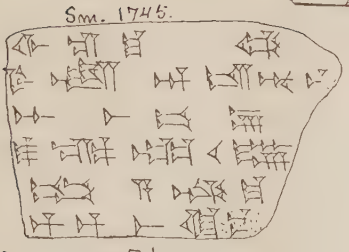



K 3323 Rev.
K 3323 Rev = Tab II R 41-55
K 3323 Obv. = Tab. II Obv 18-23.

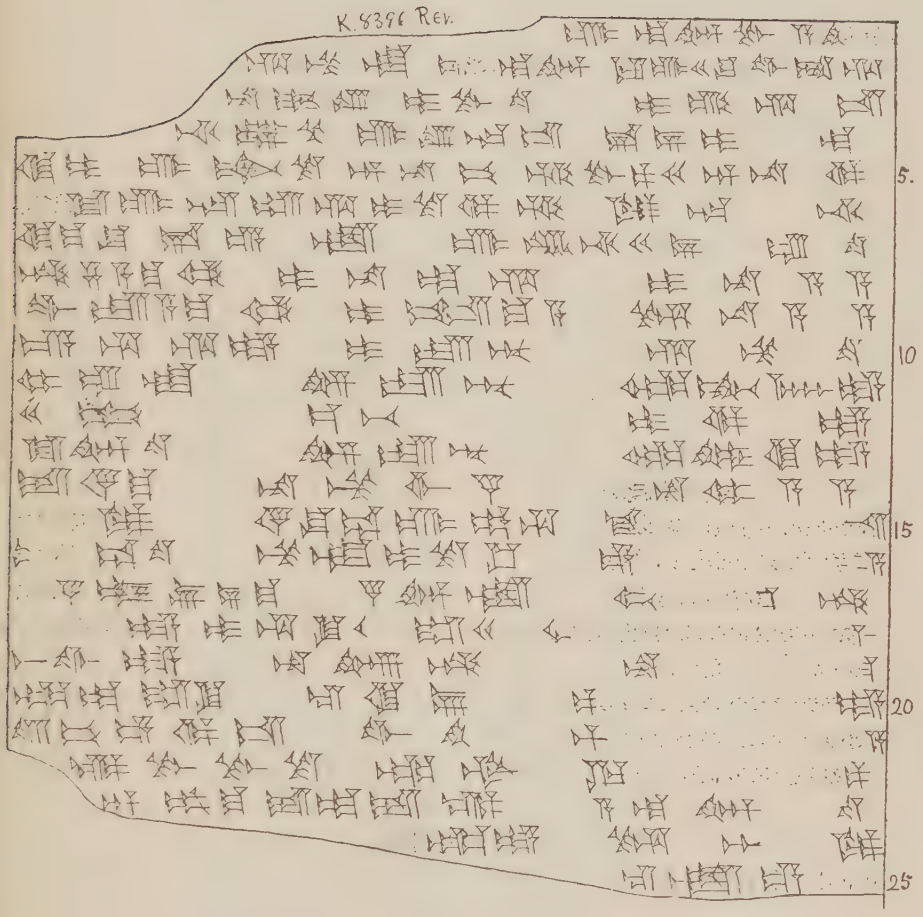
End of K 2518 Obv. IIR. 60* B



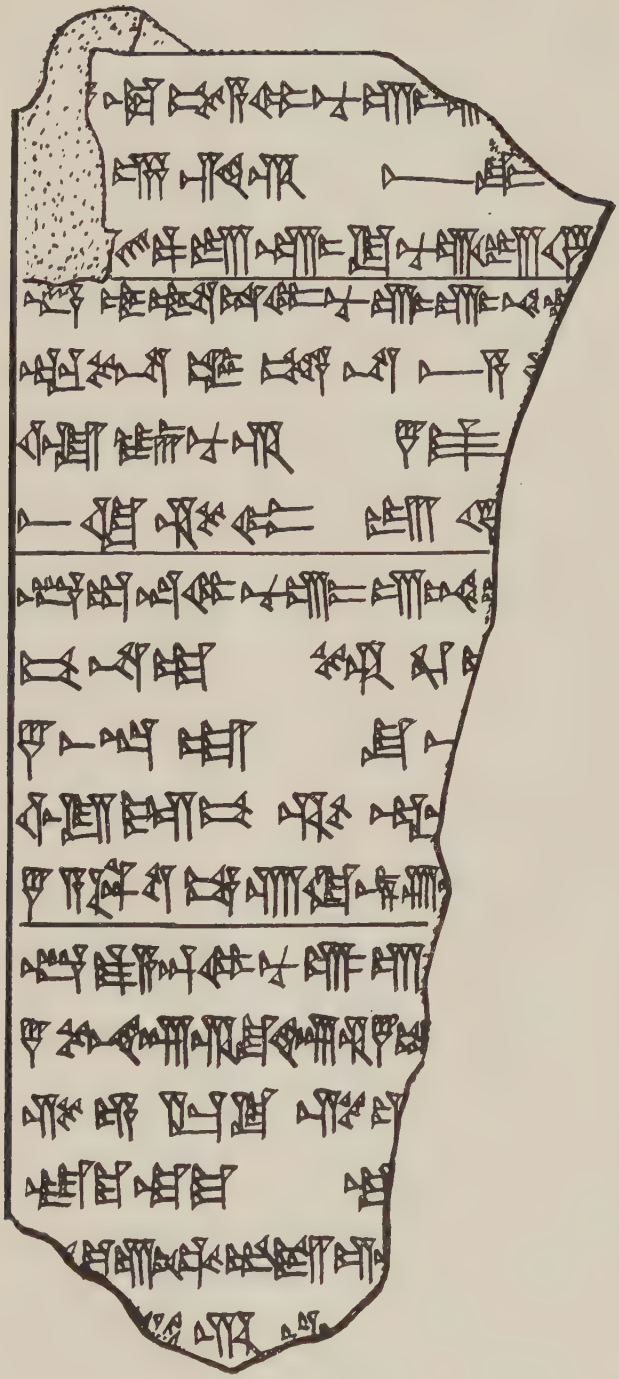

Sm. 1745.



Sm. 1745 = Tab. II 4-9.


K. 8396 Rev.
5.
10
15
20
25

K. 6392.



S. BIRNIOL'S LIBRARY
HAWARDEN.